PRO
PELLE
CUTEM

971.19
W1
V.2

DEACCESSIONED
THE EXPLORERS CLUB
DEACCESSIONED

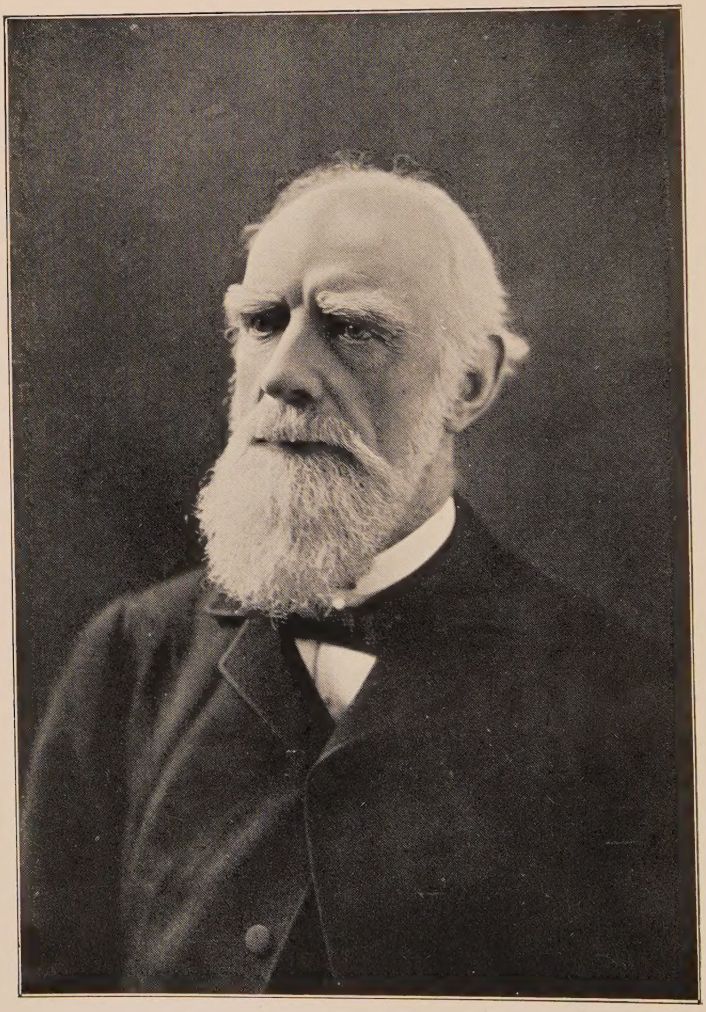
PRESENTED BY
James B. Ford

2.75

THE GREAT COMPANY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/greatcompany16670002beck



LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL

From a photograph by WILLIAM NOTMAN & SON, MONTREAL

EXPLORERS
JAMES FORD
CLUBSON

THE GREAT COMPANY

(1667–1871)

BEING A

HISTORY OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY OF MERCHANTS-ADVENTURERS TRADING INTO HUDSON'S BAY

COMPILED FROM THE COMPANY'S ARCHIVES; FROM DIPLOMATIC DOCUMENTS AND STATE PAPERS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND; FROM THE NARRATIVES OF FACTORS AND TRADERS; AND FROM MANY ACCOUNTS AND MEMOIRS

BY

BECKLES WILLSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

LORD STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL

GOVERNOR OF THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

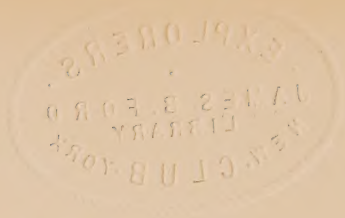
WITH NUMEROUS PORTRAITS AND A MAP OF THE TERRITORY

VOL. II

LONDON

SMITH, ELDER, & CO., 15 WATERLOO PLACE

1900



Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
At the Ballantyne Press

1699

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXIII

1748–1760

PAGES

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY APPOINTED—AIM OF THE MALCONTENTS—LORD STRANGE'S REPORT—TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES—FRENCH COMPETITION—LORDS OF PLANTATIONS DESIRE TO ASCERTAIN LIMITS OF COMPANY'S TERRITORY—DEFEAT OF THE LABRADOR COMPANY—WOLFE'S VICTORY—"LOCKED UP IN THE STRONG BOX"—COMPANY'S FORTS—CLANDESTINE TRADE—CASE OF CAPTAIN COATS 1–23

CHAPTER XXIV

1763–1770

EFFECT OF THE CONQUEST ON THE FUR-TRADE OF THE FRENCH—INDIANS AGAIN SEEK THE COMPANY'S FACTORIES—INFLUX OF HIGHLANDERS INTO CANADA—ALEXANDER HENRY—MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE "ALBANY" CLEARED UP—ASTRONOMERS VISIT PRINCE OF WALES FORT—STRIKE OF SAILORS—SEIZURE OF FURS—MEASURES TO DISCOURAGE CLANDESTINE TRADE 24–40

CHAPTER XXV

1768–1773

PAGES

REPORTS OF THE "GREAT RIVER" — COMPANY DESPATCH SAMUEL HEARNE ON A MISSION OF DISCOVERY—NORTON'S INSTRUCTIONS—SALUTED ON HIS DEPARTURE FROM THE FORT—FIRST AND SECOND JOURNEYS—MATONABEE—RESULTS OF THE THIRD JOURNEY—THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CENTURY—DEATH OF GOVERNOR NORTON 41–61

CHAPTER XXVI

1773–1782

COMPANY SUFFERS FROM THE RIVALRY OF CANADIANS—CUMBERLAND HOUSE BUILT—DEBAUCHERY AND LICENCE OF THE RIVALS—FROBISHER INTERCEPTS THE COMPANY'S INDIANS — THE SMALLPOX VISITATION OF 1781 — LA PÉROUSE APPEARS BEFORE FORT PRINCE OF WALES—HEARNE'S SURRENDER—CAPTURE OF YORK FORT BY THE FRENCH—THE POST BURNED AND THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS CARRIED AWAY PRISONERS 62–77

CHAPTER XXVII

1783–1800

DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF THE COMPETITION—MONTREAL MERCHANTS COMBINE — THE NORTH-WESTERS — SCHEME OF THE ASSOCIATION — ALEXANDER MACKENZIE — HIS TWO EXPEDITIONS REACH THE PACIFIC—EMULATION DIFFICULT —DAVID THOMPSON 78–100

CHAPTER XXVIII

1787–1808

PAGES

Captain Vancouver—La Pérouse in the Pacific—The Straits of Anian—A Fantastic Episode—Russian Hunters and Traders—The Russian Company—Dissensions amongst the Northmen—They send the Beaver to Hudson's Bay—The Scheme of Mackenzie a Failure—A ferocious Spirit fostered—Abandoned characters—A series of Outrages—The affair at Bad Lake 101–121

CHAPTER XXIX

1808–1812

Crisis in the Company's affairs—No dividend paid—Petition to Lords of the Treasury—Factors allowed a share in the Trade—Canada Jurisdiction Act—The killing of MacDonnell—Mowat's ill-treatment—Lord Selkirk—His Scheme laid before the Company—A protest by Thwaytes and others—The project carried—Emigrants sent out to Red River—Northmen stirred to reprisal 122–151

CHAPTER XXX

1812–1815

The Bois-Brulés—Simon McGillivray's Letter—Frightening the Settlers—A second Brigade—Governor MacDonnell's manifesto—Defection of Northmen to the Company—Robertson's Expedition to Athabasca—Affairs at Red River—Cameron and MacDonnell in uniform—Cuthbert Grant—Miles MacDonnell arrested—Fort William—News brought to the Northmen—Their confiscated Account-books—War of 1812 concluded 152–177

CHAPTER XXXI

1816–1817

PAGES

A New Brigade of Immigrants—Robert Semple—Cuthbert Grant's Letter—The De Meuron Regiment—Assembling of the Bois-Brulés—Tragedy at Seven Oaks—Selkirk at Fort William—McGillivray arrested—Arrest of the Northmen—Selkirk proceeds to Red River 178–202

CHAPTER XXXII

1817–1821

The English Government intervenes—Selkirk at Red River—Makes a treaty with the Indians—Hostilities at Peace River—Governor Williams makes Arrests—Franklin at York Factory—The Duke of Richmond interferes—Trial of Semple's murderers—Death of Selkirk—Amalgamation . . . 203–221

CHAPTER XXXIII

1821–1846

The New System—A Governor-in-Chief chosen—A Chaplain appointed—New Licence from George IV.—Trade on the Pacific Coast—The Red River Country claimed by the States—The Company in California—The Oregon Question—Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825—The "Dryad" affair—Lieutenant Franklin's two Expeditions—Red River territory yielded to Company—Enterprise on the Pacific . . . 222–250

CHAPTER XXXIV

1846–1863

PAGES

The Oregon Treaty—Boundary Question settled—Company proposes undertaking Colonisation of North America—Enmity and Jealousy aroused—Attitude of Earl Grey—Lord Elgin's opinion of the Company—Amended proposal for Colonisation submitted—Opposition of Mr. Gladstone—Grant of Vancouver Island secured, but allowed to expire in 1859—Dr. Rae's Expedition—The Franklin Expedition and its Fate—Discovery of the North-West Passage—Imperial Parliament appoints Select Committee—Toronto Board of Trade petitions Legislative Council—Trouble with Indians—Question of Buying out the Company—British Government refuses help—"Pacific Scheme" Promoters meet Company in official interview—International Financial Association buys Company's rights—Edward Ellice, the "Old Bear" 251–277

CHAPTER XXXV

1863–1871

Indignation of the Wintering Partners—Distrust and misgivings arise—Proposals of Governor Dallas for the compensation of the Wintering Partners in exchange for their abrogation of Deed Poll—Threatened deadlock—Position of those in authority rendered untenable—Failure of Duke of Newcastle's proposals for surrender of Territorial Rights—The Russo-American Alaskan Treaty—The Hon. W. McDougall's resolutions—Deputation goes to England—Sir Stafford Northcote becomes Governor—Opinion of Lord Granville as to the

PAGES

POSITION OF AFFAIRS—LACK OF MILITARY SYSTEM COMPANY'S WEAKNESS — CESSION NOW INEVITABLE — TERMS SUGGESTED BY LORD GRANVILLE ACCEPTED—FIRST RIEL REBELLION—WOLSELEY AT FORT GARRY . . . 278–299

CHAPTER XXXVI

1821–1871

THE COMPANY STILL KING IN THE NORTH-WEST—ITS FORTS DESCRIBED—FORT GARRY—FORT VANCOUVER—FRANKLIN —WALLA WALLA—YUKON—KAMLOOPS—SAMUEL BLACK —MOUNTAIN HOUSE—FORT PITT—POLICY OF THE GREAT COMPANY 300–310

APPENDIX

THE HUDSON'S BAY POSTS 313
ROYAL CHARTER 318
THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY QUESTION 336
CONVENTION WITH RUSSIA 337
LOUISIANA BOUNDARIES AND THE COMPANY 341
COST OF PROVISIONS IN 1804 343

LIST OF PORTRAITS

Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal . . *Frontispiece*

John Rae, M.D., F.R.S. . . . . *To face page* 42

Thomas Simpson . . . . . ,, ,, 92

Sir J. H. Pelly . . . . . ,, ,, 121

Robert Semple . . . . . ,, ,, 168

Sir George Simpson . . . . . ,, ,, 205

Eden Colville . . . . . ,, ,, 256

Bishop of Rupert's Land . . . . . ,, ,, 301

MAPS

Dobbs' Map, 1744 . . . . . *page* 45

Charter of Incorporation granted by King Charles the Second . . . . . *To face page* 318

THE GREAT COMPANY

CHAPTER XXIII

1748–1760

PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY APPOINTED—AIM OF THE MALCONTENTS—LORD STRANGE'S REPORT—TESTIMONY OF WITNESSES—FRENCH COMPETITION—LORDS OF PLANTATIONS DESIRE TO ASCERTAIN LIMITS OF COMPANY'S TERRITORY—DEFEAT OF THE LABRADOR COMPANY—WOLFE'S VICTORY—"LOCKED UP IN THE STRONG BOX"—COMPANY'S FORTS—CLANDESTINE TRADE—CASE OF CAPTAIN COATS.

"MR. SHARPE, the Company's solicitor," we read in the Company's minute-books, under date of March 10, 1748, "attending the Committee acquainted them that a motion was yesterday made and carried in the House of Commons to inquire into the state and condition of the countries and trade of Hudson's Bay, and also the right the Company pretend to have by charter to the property of the land, and exclusive trade to those countries, and that a committee was appointed accordingly."

Parliamentary inquiry.

The Adventurers were not caught entirely unawares. They had expected some such move on the part of

their opponents, and now determined that since they could not ward off the inquiry, they would take the best means to present the most favourable statement of the Company's case to the nation. A ransacking of books and records ensued, and a rigorous search after facts bearing on the beneficent character of the Company's rule and policy; and these proofs being at length ready, were placed by the following December in the form of a memorial in the hands of every member of the House of Commons.

The inquiry in the hands of a Parliamentary Committee aroused the greatest national interest. It began soon after Christmas, 1748, and lasted for two months.

What the malcontents desired is, perhaps, best explained in the words of their prime mover: "By opening," said he, "the trade in the Bay, many thousands more would be employed in trade, and a much greater vent would be opened for our manufactures. Whereas all the gain we have at present, whilst the trade is confined to the Company, is the employment of one hundred and twenty men in all their factories, and two or three ships in that trade, manned with perhaps one hundred and twenty men in time of war, to enrich nine or ten [1] merchants at their country's expense; at the same time betraying the nation, by allowing the French to encroach upon us at the bottom of the Bay, having

[1] The number of the Adventurers was, before the inquiry of 1749, a mystery. By many it was charged that they were not above nine or ten.

given up by that means the greatest part of their trade there to the French. It is, therefore, humbly submitted to the Government, whether it is not just as well as prudent to open that trade to all the British merchants, and resume at the same time the charter, so far as to take from them all those lands they have not reclaimed or occupied after seventy years' possession, leaving them only their factories, and such lands as they have reclaimed adjoining to them; and to give grants as usual in other colonies to all who shall go over to trade and make settlements in the country, for no grants were ever intended to be made to them, to enable them to prevent other subjects of Britain from planting colonies in those countries, which they themselves would not plant or occupy. For such a power, instead of being beneficial, would be the greatest prejudice to Britain, and is become a general law in the colonies, that those who take grants of land and don't plant them in a reasonable limited time, forfeit their rights to those lands, and a new grant is made out to such others as shall plant and improve them; and if this grant be not immediately resumed so far and the trade laid open, and some force be not sent to secure our southern possessions in the Bay by the Government in case there should be a French war, we shall see the French immediately dispossess the Company of all their factories but Churchill, and all these countries and that trade will be in the possession of

Plea of the malcontents.

the French."[1] So ran the argument of the Company's enemies.

On the 24th of April 1749, Lord Strange presented, on behalf of the Select Committee, the report to Parliament.

"The Committee," said he, "appointed to inquire into the state and condition of the countries adjoining to Hudson's Bay and the trade carried on there, and to consider how those countries may be settled and improved, and the trade and fisheries there extended and increased, and also to inquire into the right the Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay pretend to have, by charter, to the property of lands and exclusive trade to those countries, have, pursuant to the order of the House, examined into the several matters to them referred.

"Your Committee thought proper, in the first place, to inquire into the nature and extent of the charter granted by King Charles the Second to the Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay, under which charter the present Company claim as right to lands and an exclusive trade to those countries; which charter being laid before your Committee, they thought it necessary for the information of the House to annex a copy thereof to this report."

The Committee had examined the witnesses in the case. These witnesses were: Joseph Robson, who had been employed in the Bay for six years as a stone-

[1] Fort Prince of Wales was thought to be impregnable. As a matter of fact this was afterwards the first fort captured by the French.

mason; Richard White, who had been a clerk at Albany Fort and elsewhere; Matthew Sargeant, who had been employed in the Company's service and "understood the Indian language"; John Hayter, who had been house carpenter to the Company for six years at Moose River; Matthew Gwynne, who had been twice at Hudson's Bay; Edward Thompson, who had been three years at Moose River as surgeon; Enoch Alsop, who had been armourer to the Company at Moose River; Christopher Bannister, who had been armourer and gunsmith, and had resided in the Bay for twenty-two years; Robert Griffin, silversmith, who had been five years in the Company's service; Thomas Barnet Smith, who went over to Albany in 1741; Alexander Brown, who had been six years at Hudson's Bay as surgeon; Captain Thomas Mitchell, who had commanded a sloop of the Company.

Witnesses called by the Committee.

Besides the above witnesses there was, of course, Dobbs himself, who was "examined as to the information he had received from a French-Canadese Indian (since deceased) who was maintained at the expense of the Admiralty, on the prospect of his being of service on the discovery of a North-West passage." Dobbs informed the Committee that "the whole of that discourse is contained in part of a book printed for the witness in 1744, to which he desired leave to refer."[1] There

[1] Dobbs' "Hudson's Bay," a hysterical work, which was throughout an attack on Captain Christopher Middleton.

also appeared Captain William Moor, who had been employed in Hudson's Bay from a boy; Henry Spurling, merchant, who had traded in furs for twenty-eight years past, during which time he had dealt with the Hudson's Bay Company; Captain Carruthers, who had been in the Company's service thirty-five years before; and Arthur Slater, who had been employed by the Company on the East Main.

The opposition endeavoured to show that one object aimed at in granting a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company was to further the discovery of the North-West passage. This of course was absurd. It was charged that they had done almost nothing in this direction, which the Adventurers on their part rebutted by furnishing Parliament with a list of the ships they had fitted out for such a discovery.

In the evidence before the Committee, it became clear that the witnesses were exceedingly diverse in their opinions, especially concerning the probability of finding a North-West passage. Edward Thompson, the ship surgeon on the *Furnace*, for example, states that he has the "greatest reason to believe there is one, from the winds, tides, and black whales, and he thinks the place to be at Chesterfield Inlet; that the reason of their coming back was they met the other boat which had been five leagues farther, and the crew told them the water was much fresher and shallower there, but where he was the water was fifty fathoms deep, and the tide very strong; the ebb six hours and the

flood two, to the best of his remembrance; that it is not common for the tide to flow only two hours." He imagined it to be obstructed by another tide from the westward. The rapidity of the tide upwards was so great that the spray of the water flew over the bow of the schooner, and was "so salt that it candied on the men's shoes, but the tide did not run in so rapid a manner the other way." Captain William Moor, being asked if he believed there was a North-West passage to the South Seas, said he believed there was a communication, but "whether navigable or not he cannot say; that if there is any such communication, 'tis farther northward than he expected; that if it is but short, as 'tis but probable to conclude from the height of the tides, 'tis possible it might be navigable. It was the opinion of all the persons sent on that discovery that a north-west wind made the highest tides." According to Captain Carruthers, "he don't apprehend there is any such passage, but if there is, he thinks it impracticable to navigate it on account of the ice; that he would rather choose to go round by Cape Horn; and that it will be impossible to go and return through such passage in one year; and he thinks 'tis the general opinion of seamen, that there is no such passage." In which opinion the seamen were in the right, although Dobbs and his friends were long to hold the contrary.

Evidence as to a North-West passage.

John Tomlinson, a London merchant, testified that he was a subscriber to "the undertaking for finding a

North-West passage, which undertaking was dropped for want of money; that he should not choose to subscribe again on the same terms; that he cannot pretend to say whether there is such a passage or not, or whether, if found, it could ever be rendered useful to navigation."

It was only to be expected that the merchants, having no share in the Company's profits, should be, to a man, in favour of throwing open the trade of Hudson's Bay. This same Tomlinson gave it out as his opinion that if the charter were revoked more ships would be sent and more Indians brought down to trade. "This is confirmed," said he, "by the experience of the Guinea trade, which, when confined to a company, employed not above ten ships, and now employs one hundred and fifty." He moreover asserted that "the case of the Guinea trade was exactly similar, where the ships are near one another, and each endeavours to get the trade; and the more ships lie there the higher the prices of negroes."

The Company was obliged in the course of this inquiry to divulge a number of facts relating to its trade, which had until then remained secret. Parliament was informed that the trade between London and Hudson's Bay was carried on in 1748, and for some years previous, by means of four ships; that the cost of the exports was in that year £5012, 12s. 3d.; that the value of the sales of furs and other imports amounted to

The Company's profits.

£30,160, 5s. 11d. As for the "charge attending the carrying on of the Hudson's Bay trade, and maintaining their factories," it was, in 1748, £17,352, 4s. 10d. Thus a trade which involved only £5000 a year in exports brought back a return of £30,000. Even when the outlay for working and maintenance of forts and establishments was considered, there was, in dull times, a profit of forty per cent. on actual paid-up capital.

With regard to French competition, many of the witnesses were most emphatic. Robson, for instance, "thought that the beavers which are brought down to the Company are refused by the French from their being a heavy commodity; for the natives who come to trade with the Company dispose of their small, valuable furs to the French, and bring down their heavy goods to the Company in summer when the rivers are open, which they sell, and supply the French with European goods purchased from the Company."

"The French," said Richard White, another witness, "intercept the Indians coming down with their trade," he having seen them with guns and clothing of French manufacture; and further an Indian had told him that there was a French settlement up Moose River, something to the southward of the west, at the distance, as the witness apprehended, of about fifty miles. "The French deal in light furs, and take all of that sort they can get, and the Indians bring the heavy to us. Sometimes the Indians bring down martens' skins, but that is when they don't meet with the French; but I never

knew any Indians who had met the French bring down light furs. The French settlement on Moose River is at Abbitibi Lake. The trade," concluded the witness, "might be further extended by sending up Europeans to winter amongst the natives, which, though the Company have not lately attempted, the French actually do."

"The French," said another, "intercept the trade, to prevent which the Company some time ago built Henley House,[1] which did, in some measure, answer the purpose; but if they would build farther in the country it would have a better effect. The French went there first, and are better beloved; but if we would go up into the country the French Indians would trade with us."

Another of the witnesses testified that he had been informed by the Indians that the French-Canadese Indians came within six score miles of the English factories. The French Indians came to Albany to trade for their heavy goods. He said he had heard Governor Norton say that the "French ran away with our trade." "If," continued this witness, Alexander Brown, "the trade was opened, the French would not intercept the Indians, since in that case the separate traders must have out-factories in the same manner the French have, which the Company have not." Upon being asked by Lord Strange if "in case those out-settlements were erected, whether

French encroachment on trade.

[1] 1720.

the same trade could be carried on at the present settlements?" the witness replied that "it would be impossible, but that the trade would be extended, and by that means they would take it from the French. That if these settlements were near the French, they must have garrisons to secure them against the French, and the Indians who trade with and are in friendship with them (whom he distinguished by the name of French Indians)."

Brown quoted Norton as saying, in the year 1739, "that the French had a settlement at about the distance of one hundred or six score miles from Churchill, which had been built about a year, and contained sixty men with small arms."

The Committee of Inquiry weighed all this evidence carefully and decided in favour of the Company. The charter was pronounced unassailable; the Company had made out a good case against its enemies. It had certainly permitted the encroachments of the French. But the English Government of the day foresaw that French possession of Canada was doomed, and the Company could make ample amends when the British flag was unfurled at Quebec and at Montreal.

The Company having come out of the ordeal unharmed,[1] the Lords of Trade and Plantations thought it might as well settle in its own mind the precise

[1] On June 28, 1749, at a Company's meeting, an account was made of the cost of defending the Company's charter, upon the motion made in the House of Commons. It amounted in the whole to only £755, 5s. 10d., exclusive of Sharpe, the Company solicitor's services.

territory claimed by the Company under its charter. The Company, on its part, was not forgetful that the French Government had not yet paid its little bill, which having been running for over sixty years, had now assumed relatively gigantic proportions.

Accordingly the Lords of Trade and Plantations, on the 25th of July 1750, addressed a letter to the Company, representing that "as it was for the benefit of the plantations that the limits or boundaries of the British Colonies on the Continent of America should be distinctly known, more particularly as they border on the settlements made by the French, or any foreign nation in America, their Lordships desired as exact an account as possible of the limits and boundaries of the territory granted to the Company, together with a chart or map thereof, and all the best accounts and vouchers they can obtain to support the same, and particularly, if any, or what settlements have been made by the English on the frontiers towards the lakes, and if any, or what encroachments have been made, and at what period, and to be exact in stating every particular in the history of whatever encroachments have been made, which may serve to place the proceedings in a true light, and confute any right which may at any time be founded upon them."

The Government asks the Company to define its territory.

The Company instantly replied. It declared that the said Straits and Bays were then so well known, that they really stood in no need of any particular

description than by the chart or map therewith delivered. The limits or boundaries of the lands and countries lying round the same, comprised as the Adventurers conceived, in the same grant, were described as being the entire lands lying on the east side or coast of the said Bay, and extending from the Bay eastward to the Atlantic Ocean and Davis' Strait, and the line thereafter mentioned as the east and south-eastern boundaries of the said Company's territories; and towards the north, "all the lands that lie at the north end, or on the north side or coast of the said Bay, and extending from the Bay northwards to the utmost limits of the lands; then towards the North Pole; but where or how these lands terminate is hitherto unknown. And towards the west, all the lands that lie on the west side or coast of the said Bay, and extending from the said Bay westward to the utmost limits of those lands; but where or how these lands terminate to the westward is also unknown, though probably it will be found they terminate on the Great South Sea." Towards the south, they proposed the line already set out by them, before and soon after the Treaty of Utrecht, stating that the Commissioners under that treaty were never able to bring the settlement of the said limits to a final conclusion; but they urged that the limits of the territories granted to them, and of the places appertaining to the French, should be settled upon the footing above mentioned.

Company's reply.

By the Treaty of Utrecht the French kings were bound to restore to Great Britain, in full right forever, Hudson's Bay, the Straits, and all lands, rivers, coasts, &c., there situate. More than this, the Hudson's Bay Company was to be repaid their losses by French hostile incursions and depredations in time of peace.

The Hudson's Bay Company now went further and asked the Government to insist that no French vessel should be allowed to pass to the north or north-west of a line drawn from Grimington's Island and Cape Perdrix; but a counter petition blocked the way.

One of the most feasible plans of the Company's foes seemed to be to lay hold of some adjacent territory, and from that vantage-ground gradually encroach on the chartered preserves. Such seems to have been the intention when in July 1752, a petition was presented to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, from "severall London Merchants," who sought a grant of "all that part of America lying on the Atlantic Ocean on the east part, extending south and north from 52° north latitude from the equinoctial line to 60° of the same north latitude, called Labradore or New Britain, not at this time possessed by any of his Majesty's subjects or the subjects of any Christian prince or state."

On the receipt of this petition by the Government, the Hudson's Bay Company was called upon to say whether it laid claim to this tract. In their reply the

Honourable Adventurers referred to the grant of Charles II. of all rights to trade and commerce of those seas, &c., within entrance of Hudson's Straits, and of all lands on the coasts and confines thereof; Labrador throughout its whole extent, from 60° north latitude to 52°, was therefore alleged to be within their limits.

The Company was already settled there, and had spent £10,000 on it. Moreover, it declared, it was a barren land, with few beavers or other furs of value, and the Company suggested that the aim of these "London Merchants" was to gain a footing and draw off the Hudson's Bay Company's trade, which it hoped would not be permitted. This hope of the Adventurers was realised, for the petition of the London Merchants was not allowed.[1]

France's fatal hour with respect to her sovereignty over Canada rapidly approached. In December 1759, the Company wrote as follows to the Lords of Plantations:—

"In prospect of an approaching Treaty of Peace between this nation and France, and in the hope that the great success his Majesty's arms have been blessed with, and the many ac-

[1] In refusing to advise the granting of a charter to the Company's enemies, the Attorney-General, Sir Dudley Ryder, and the Solicitor-General, Sir William Murray—afterwards Lord Mansfield—drew up a lengthy and important paper, reviewing the charges against the Company. Their conclusion was that either the charges were "not sufficiently supported in point of fact, or were in great measure accounted for from the nature and circumstances of the case." They deemed the charter valid for all practical purposes.

quisitions that have been thereby gained from the enemy, will enable his Majesty to secure to your memorialists satisfaction for the injuries and depredations they have long since suffered from the French, which stands acknowledged by treaty and are stipulated to be made satisfaction for, but through the perfidy of the enemy, and in disregard of the treaty have hitherto remained unsatisfy'd; in which the honour of the nation as well as justice to the individuals, loudly call for redress."

Halifax and Soame Jenyns thereupon wrote to Pitt in these words:—

"Sir,—The Governor and Company of Merchants trading to Hudson's Bay having presented a memorial to us, stating their claims with respect to limits and other matters provided for by the Treaty of Utrecht, and praying that in case of a peace with France, his Majesty would be graciously pleased to cause satisfaction to be made to them with respect to such claims, pursuant to the stipulations of the tenth and eleventh articles of the said treaty; we beg leave to transmit to you the enclosed copy of the said memorial for his Majesty's directions thereupon."

While England's exultation over Wolfe's glorious victory at Quebec was at its height, the Company thought the time had at last arrived when the indemnity it had claimed so long should be exacted. The treaty of peace could not be long delayed. But the sanguine expectations of the Adventurers were not destined to be realised. In vain did the Governor wait at the door of Mr. Secretary Pitt; in vain did my Lord Halifax assure the Company's secretary that he would make it his "own

Conquest of Canada.

personal business" to have the affair attended to.[1] It was then, alas, too late. With reason might the Company's zealous secretary trace in the minutes: "Locked up this day (November 22, 1759), in the Great Iron Chest, a Book containing estimates of the Company's losses sustained from the French, from 1682 to 1688." The "Great Iron Chest" was to hold the book for many a day, and though the Company evinced a never-failing alacrity to produce it, yet never was there to be inscribed the words "settled with thanks," at the foot of this "little bill against the French."

We have already been made familiar with the character of the Company's forts in the Bay as late as the reign of Queen Anne. There had been almost from the beginning a party amongst the Honourable Adventurers favourable to the erection of strong forts, not built of logs with bastions of stone, but of stone throughout, from the designs of competent engineers.

A few years after the Company had regained possession of York Factory, it built (1718) a wooden fort at Churchill River, to which was given the name of Prince

[1] "The Company being apprehensive that Mr. Secretary Pitt's indisposition should deprive them of an opportunity of conferring with him in due time, with respect to the Company's claim on the French nation for depredations in times of peace before the Treaty of Utrecht, resolved that a petition should be drawn up to his Majesty, humbly representing such losses and damages, reciting the tenth and eleventh article of the said treaty, and praying that his Majesty will give his plenipotentiaries at the approaching congress for a treaty of peace, such directions as will suffice for justice being done to the Company by compensation for such losses. Also that the boundaries of Hudson's Bay may be settled."—*Minute Book*, 20th May 1761.

of Wales. In 1730 it constructed another at Moose River; and about the same time a small post, capable of containing eight or ten men at Slude River, on the East Main. In 1720 Henley House, one hundred and fifty miles up Albany River, was built to contain a garrison of eight men, as a check to the Indians who carried on a trade with the French.

Building of stone forts.

But the wooden fort Prince of Wales did not long remain. The remembrance of their former posts destroyed by fire and Iberville's cannon caused the Company at length to undertake the fortification on a splendid scale of its best harbour, to safeguard what it designed to be its principal *entrepôt* from the French, as well as from the Indians. Opposition was cried down, and the "fortification party," as it was called, carried the day. A massive thirty-feet wide foundation was begun at Churchill, from the plans of military engineers who had served under Marlborough, and, after many vicissitudes, in 1734 Fort Prince of Wales, one of the strongest forts on the continent, was reared at the mouth of Churchill River.

It was the original intention to have the walls forty-two feet thick at their foundation, but on account of the Governor's interference the dimensions were reduced to twenty-five. It was afterwards found, however, that there was a tendency to sink when cannon were fired frequently from the walls, so one section was forthwith pulled down and rebuilt according to

original plans. Three of the bastions had arches for storehouses, forty feet three inches by ten feet, and in the fourth was built a stone magazine twenty-four feet long and ten feet wide in the clear, with a passage to it through the gorge of the bastion twenty-four feet long and four feet wide.

The parapets were originally constructed of wood, supplied by denuding the old fort, situate five miles up the Churchill River, the site of which was first occupied in 1688; but in 1746 the Company began erecting a stone parapet. Robson's plan shows that two houses, a dwelling and office building, were erected inside the fort, and incidentally he describes one of the two as being one hundred and eighty-one feet six inches by thirty-three feet, with side walls seventeen feet high and the roof covered with lead.

In 1730, Moose, a new fort, was erected on the site of Moose Factory. About the same time Richmond Fort was built on Whale River, but it did not continue a great many years. I find, under date of 21st December 1758, that "the Governor represented to the Committee that Richmond Fort did not give a sufficient return to pay the most moderate charge of supporting it," and it was "resolved that the Company's servants and effects be withdrawn from there as soon as conveniently may be and replaced at such of the Company's other factories as shall be found needful." Further, it was "resolved that a factory with accommodation for twelve men, with all convenience for

trading goods, stores, and provisions, be built as early as possible in the year 1760, in the most convenient place for that purpose on the north side of Severn River and as high up as may be."

At the same time it was ordered that the number of men for York Fort and the new settlement to be made on the Severn River should be forty-eight.

Clandestine trade was a constantly recurring feature of eighteenth century life in the Bay. Charges were repeatedly preferred against the Company's servants, and altogether scores were dismissed as a punishment for this offence. It must be confessed that there was often a temptation difficult to resist. Nothing seemed more natural for the poor apprentice to trade his jack-knife, Jew's-harp, or silk kerchief with an Indian or Esquimau for a peltry; and the only reason, perhaps, why private bartering was not indulged in more generally was the great risk of detection. But with the governors, traders, and ship captains such risk was reduced to a minimum.

Clandestine trade.

Of unusual interest and severity was the case of Captain Coats, an able mariner who had been in the employ of the Company for a period of many years. None was superior to him in knowledge of the Bay and Straits. Captain Coats had been twice shipwrecked, once in 1727, "when near the meridian of Cape Farewell, when running through the ice with a small sail, when two pieces of ice shutt upon us and sank our ship;" and again in 1736, when he was

entangled in the ice off Cape Resolution, and his ship had her sides crushed in and sank in twenty minutes. Coats drew up a journal for the use of his sons, containing an elaborate description of the Bay and its approaches, together with a great deal of relative matter; and this journal, which fifty years since received the honour of publication by the Hakluyt Society, concludes by saying that if these sons are neglected by the Hudson's Bay Company they are at liberty to make, and "it is his will and command that every part be made publick, for the use and benefit of mankind."

There is herein, it is almost needless to say, no mention of the captain's clandestine trading operations, which extended over a long series of years, and which might never have been made known to the Company had it not been for the sudden death of Pilgrim, who was formerly Governor at Prince of Wales and Moose Forts. A number of private letters and papers reached England, incriminating Coats, but they never achieved publicity; nor in 1852, was the Hakluyt Society cognisant of the fate which overtook its author. "Of the writer," remarked Sir John Barrow, who prepared the volume, "the editor can learn but little; nothing, in fact, is now known of Captain Coats, except that he was in the Company's service as commander of one or other of their ships from 1727 to 1751." He added that no memorial was believed to exist in the Company's archives.

Under date of November 28, 1751, I find the following: "The Governor having acquainted the Committee of this affair, and laid the letters and papers before them, they were fully examined and the contents thereof considered. Coats was then called in and told of the information they had received, and the cause they had to suspect that he had defrauded the Company by carrying on a clandestine trade greatly to their prejudice and contrary to the fidelity he owed the Company."

"Coats at first endeavoured to excuse himself, but finding the proofs contained in the letter papers (many of which were in his own handwriting and signature) so strong in evidence against him, at last owned he was guilty of the offence he was accused of and submitted himself to the Company, and he was ordered to withdraw while his case was considered. At the expiration of two hours the culprit was called in and acquainted with his sentence, which was dismissal from the service. He was ordered to deliver up the keys of the *King George*, of which he was commander, together with the stores and the keys of such stores in the warehouse in his custody belonging to the Company."

Case of Capt. Coats.

The disgraced captain went home, and after a miserable existence of some weeks, ended his life by his own hand. On the 20th of February, there is a letter to the Company from his widow, Mary Coats, which was read out to the Adventurers assembled. It prayed

that the Committee would "indulge her so far as to order the balance that shall appear upon her late husband's account to be paid, and to permit her to have the stores brought home, still remaining in the *King George;* the profit of these," urged the widow, "had always been enjoyed by every master in the Company's services." Moved by the appeal, the Adventurers summoned the Widow Coats into their presence and informed her that, provided she delivered up to the Company all the books, papers, charts or drafts belonging to her late husband and now in her custody, she might expect to meet with the favour of the Company. "For which she returned thanks and promised to comply therewith." But the Hakluyt Society's publication of Coats's journal is sufficient to show that his widow did not keep to the strict letter of her word.

CHAPTER XXIV

1763–1770

EFFECT OF THE CONQUEST ON THE FUR-TRADE OF THE FRENCH—INDIANS AGAIN SEEK THE COMPANY'S FACTORIES—INFLUX OF HIGHLANDERS INTO CANADA—ALEXANDER HENRY—MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE "ALBANY" CLEARED UP—ASTRONOMERS VISIT PRINCE OF WALES FORT—STRIKE OF SAILORS—SEIZURE OF FURS—MEASURES TO DISCOURAGE CLANDESTINE TRADE.

THE conquest of Canada by the English in 1760[1] had an almost instantaneous effect upon the fur-trade of the French. The system of licences was swept away

[1] France ceded to England "Canada with all its dependencies," reserving only such part of what had been known as Canada as lay west of the Mississippi. The watershed between the Missouri and the Mississippi rivers had been the boundary between Canada and Louisiana when both were owned by France, and by the treaty of 1763 the River Mississippi was agreed to as the future boundary between the English and French possessions in that quarter; the language of the treaty being, "that the confines between [France and England] in that part of the world shall be fixed irrevocably by a line drawn along the middle of the River Mississippi from its source [&c.] to the sea." Very soon after this treaty, viz., on 7th October 1763, the Province of Quebec was created by Royal Proclamation, but the Province as then constituted took in very little of what was afterwards Upper Canada and what is now Ontario; the most north-westerly point was Lake Nipissing; the whole of the territory adjacent to the great lakes was excluded. In 1774 the boundaries of Quebec were enlarged by the Quebec Act. That Act recited that "by the arrange-

with the *régime* of the intendants of New France. The posts which, established chiefly for purposes of trade, were yet military, came to be abandoned, and the officers who directed them turned their disconsolate faces towards France, or to other lands where still waved the flag of the lilies. The English colonies were not without diligent traders ready to pursue their calling advantageously; but these shrank from penetrating a country where the enemy might yet lurk, a country of whose approaches, and of whose aspect or inhabitants they knew nothing and feared everything. As for the Indians themselves, they, for a time, awaited patiently the advent of the French trader. Spring came and found them at the deserted posts. With their canoes and sledges loaded with furs, they sought but they could not find; "their braves called loudly, but the sighing trees alone answered their call." Despair at first filled the bosoms of the Red

Effect of the Conquest.

ments made by the said Royal Proclamation a very large extent of territory, within which were several colonies and settlements of subjects of France, who claimed to remain therein under the faith of the said treaty, was left without any provision being made for the administration of civil government therein." The Act, therefore, provided that "all the territories, islands, and countries in North America belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, bounded on the south by a line" therein described, from the Bay of Chaleurs to "the River Ohio, and along the bank of the said river, westward, to the banks of the Mississippi, and northward to the southern boundary of the territory granted to the Merchants-Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," &c., "be, and they are hereby, during his Majesty's pleasure, annexed to and made part and parcel of the Province of Quebec as created and established by the said Royal Proclamation of the 7th October 1763."

men when they found that all their winter's toil and hardships in the forest and over the trail had been in vain. They waited all summer, and then, as the white trader came not, wearily they took up their burdens and began their journey anew.

For a wise Indian had appeared amongst them, and he had said: "Fools, why do you trust these white traders who come amongst you with beads and fire-water and crucifixes? They are but as the crows that come and are gone. But there are traders on the banks of the great lake yonder who are never absent, neither in our time nor in the time of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers. They are like the rock which cannot be moved, and they give good goods and plenty, and they are always the same. If you are wise you will go hence and deal with them, and never trust more the traders who are like fleas and grasshoppers—here one minute and the next flown leagues away."

More than one factor of the Company heard and told of this oft-spoken harangue, and many there lived to testify to its effect upon the assembled Indians. Not even was it forgotten or disregarded years afterwards in the height of the prosperity of the Northmen, whose arts of suasion were exercised in vain to induce the Red man to forego his journey to Forts York, Churchill, or Cumberland.

"No," they would say, "we trade with our friends as our grandfathers did. Our fathers once waited for the French and Bostonians to come to their forts, and

they lay down and died, and their squaws devoured them, waiting still. You are here to-day, but will you be here to-morrow? No, pale-face, we go yonder to trade with the Great Company."

And so they pressed on, resisting temptation, loyal, though wayward, the long, rough journey being lightened by the thought that they would at its close deal with their friends.

Thus for some years the Company prospered, doing a more thriving business than ever. But what of the Canadian bushrangers and voyageurs thus cut off from their homes and abandoned by their officers and employers? Their occupation was gone—whither did they drift? Too long had they led the untrammelled life of the wilderness to adjust again the fetters of a civilised life in Montreal or Quebec; they were attached to their brave and careless masters—these in many instances they were permitted to follow, but large numbers dispersed themselves amongst the Indians. Without capital they could no longer follow the fur-trade; they were fond of hunting and fishing; and so by allying themselves with Indian wives, and by following the pursuits and adopting the customs of the Red men, themselves virtually became savages, completely severed from their white fellows.

The *coureurs de bois.*

An influx of Scotch Highlanders had been taking place in Canada ever since 1745, and some of these bold spirits were quick to see the advantages of

prosecuting, without legal penalty, a private trade in furs. To these were added English soldiers, who were discharged at the peace, or had previously deserted. How many of these were slain by the aborigines, and never more heard of, can never be computed; but it is certain that many more embarked in the fur-trade and fell victims to the tomahawk, torch, hunger, and disease than there is any known record to tell us.

Hostility of the Indians to the English.

It is certain, also, that the hostility of the tribes—chief amongst them the Iroquois—to the English was very great, and such hostility was nourished for some years by the discontented bushrangers and voyageurs. In the action of Pontiac at Detroit, and the surprise and capture of Michilimackinac with its attendant horrors, there is ample proof, both of the spirit animating the Indians, and the danger which went hand in hand with the new trade in furs.

The first of these English traders at Michilimackinac to penetrate into the west, where the French had gone, is said to have been Thomas Curry. This man, having by shrewdness and ability procured sufficient capital for the purpose, engaged guides and interpreters, purchased a stock of goods and provisions, and with four canoes reached Fort Bourbon, which was situated at the western extremity of Cedar Lake, on the waters of the Saskatchewan. His venture was successful, and he returned to Montreal with his canoes loaded with magnificent furs. While he never expressed a desire

to repeat the performance, it was not very long before his example was followed by many others. James Finlay was the first of such disciples; he penetrated to Nipawee, the last of the French posts on the Saskatchewan, in latitude 53½°, and longitude 103°. This trader was equally successful.

After a career of some years in the vicinity of Michilimackinac, of a general character, identical with that pursued a hundred years before by Groseilliers, another intrepid trader, Alexander Henry, decided to strike off into the North-West. He left "the Sault," as the Falls of St. Mary were called, on the 10th of June 1775, with goods and provisions to the value of £3000 sterling on board twelve small canoes and four larger ones. Each small canoe was navigated by three men, and each larger one by four. On the 20th they encamped at the mouth of the Pijitic. It was by this river, he tells us, that the French ascended in 1750, when they plundered one of the Company's factories in the bay, and carried off the two small pieces of brass cannon, which fell again into English hands at Michilimackinac. But here Henry fell into error; for it was by the River Michipicoten that the French went, and the factory plundered of its adornments was Moose, not Churchill, and the year 1756, not 1750.

Henry's expedition.

Henry himself was going on a sort of plundering expedition against the Company, which was to be far more effective in setting an example to others, than

any the French had yet carried through. He, like the others, as he journeyed found himself face to face with evidences of the recent French occupation.

The year of Curry's expedition, 1767, had witnessed a clearing up of the mystery surrounding the fate of the *Albany*, the first of the vessels sent in 1719 by the Company to search for a North-West passage.

The Company was at that time carrying on a black whale fishery, and Marble Island was made the rendezvous, not merely on account of the commodious harbour, but because of the greater abundance of whales there. Under these circumstances the boats, when on the look-out for fish, had frequent occasion to row close to the island, which led to the discovery, at the easternmost extremity, of a new harbour.[1] Upon landing at this place, the crews made a startling discovery. They found English guns, anchors, cables, bricks, a smith's anvil, and many other articles lying on the ground, which, though they were very old, had not been defaced by the hand of time, and which having been apparently without use to the native Esquimaux, and too heavy to be removed by them, had not been removed from the spot where they had originally been laid a little

[1] It is not a little singular that neither Middleton, Ellis, Christopher, Johnston, nor Garbet, all of which explorers had visited Marble Island prior to 1767, and some of them often, ever discovered this harbour. The actual discoverer was Joseph Stephens, commanding the *Success*, a small vessel employed in the whale fishery. Two years later Stephens was given the command of the *Charlotte*, a fine brig of 100 tons, his mate then being Samuel Hearne, the explorer.

farther inland. The whalers beheld the remains of a frame house and two log dwellings[1] which, though half destroyed by the Esquimaux for the wood and iron of which they were composed, yet could plainly be seen at a distance. Lastly, when the tide ebbed in the harbour there became visible the hulls of two craft, lying sunk in five fathoms of water. The figurehead of one of these vessels, together with the guns and other implements, was shortly afterwards carried to England. The hypothesis of Governor Norton was instantly and only too correctly espoused by the Company. On this inhospitable island, where neither stick nor stump was, nor is to be seen, and which lies sixteen miles from a mainland, no less inhospitable, perished Knight, Barlow, and the other members of the exploring expedition of 1719. Thus was a fate nearly half a century unknown ascertained at last.

Fate of the *Albany*.

Two years later some members of a whaling party landed at this same harbour, and one of their number, perceiving some aged Esquimaux, determined to question them on the matter.

"This," says the narrator, "we were the better enabled to do by the assistance of an Esquimau, who was then in the Company's service as a linguist, and annually sailed in one of their vessels in that character. The account received from these aged natives was 'full,

[1] "I have seen," wrote Governor Hearne, "the remains of those houses several times; they are on the west side of the harbour, and in all probability will be discernible for many years to come."

clear, and unreserved,' and its purport was in this wise :—

"When the doomed vessels arrived at Marble Island, it was late in the autumn of 1719, and in making the harbour through the ice, the larger was considerably damaged. The party landed safely, however, and at once set about building the house. As soon as the ice permitted, in the following summer, the Esquimaux paid them a further visit, and observed that the white strangers were largely reduced in number and that the survivors were very unhealthy in appearance. According to the account given by these Esquimaux, these were very busily employed, but the nature of their employment they could not easily describe. It is probable they were lengthening the long-boat or repairing the ship, and to support this conjecture, forty-eight years later there lay, at a little distance from the house, a quantity of oak ships, 'most assuredly made by carpenters.'"

Much havoc must have been thenceforward wrought among the explorers, who could not repair their ship, which even may by this have been sunk; and by the second winter only twenty souls out of the original fifty remained.

That same winter, some of the Esquimaux had taken up their abode on the opposite side of the harbour to the English, and frequently supplied them with such provisions as they had, which consisted chiefly of whale's blubber, seal's flesh, and train oil.

When the spring advanced, the natives crossed over to the mainland, and upon visiting Marble Island in the summer of 1721, found only five of the white men alive, and those in such distress that they instantly seized upon and devoured the seal's flesh and whale blubber, given them in a raw state in trade by their visitors. This food occasioned a severe physical disorder which destroyed three of the five; and the other two, though very weak, made shift to bury their dead comrades. These two survivors eked out a wretched existence for many weeks, frequently resorting to the summit of an adjacent rock, in the vain hope of being seen by some relief party; but alas, they were doomed to a daily disappointment. The Esquimaux themselves had little to offer them; and at last they were seen by the wandering natives to crouch down close together and cry aloud like children, the tears rolling down their cheeks. First one of the pair died, and then the other, in an attempt to dig a grave for his fellow. The Esquimau who told the story, led the whalers to the spot and showed them the skulls and the larger bones of the luckless pair, then lying above ground not a great distance from the dwelling. It is believed that the last survivor must have been the armourer or smith of the expedition, because, according to the account given by the aborigines, he was always employed in working iron into implements for them, some of which they could still show.

Wretched death of Knight and his men.

There flourished in 1768 the body known as the "Royal Society for Improving Natural Knowledge." This Society wrote to the Company, requesting that two persons might be conveyed to and from Fort Churchill in Hudson's Bay, in some of the Company's ships, "to observe the passage of Venus over the sun, which will happen on the 3rd of June 1769." It was desired that these persons might be maintained by the Company, and furnished with all necessary articles while on board and on shore. The Company was asked to furnish them with materials and the assistance of servants to erect an observatory; the Society engaging to recoup the Company's whole charge, and desiring an estimate of the expense.

The Company expressed itself as "ready to convey the persons desired, with their baggage and instruments, to and from Fort Churchill, and to provide them with lodging and medicine while there, *gratis*, they to find their own bedding." The Company demanded £250 for diet during the absence of the astronomers from England, which would be about eighteen months. The Adventurers recommended the Society to send the intended building in frame, with all necessary implements, tools, &c., which "will be conveyed upon freight, the Royal Society likewise paying for any clothing that may be supplied the observers during their residence in Hudson's Bay."

Astronomers at Hudson's Bay, 1769.

It is interesting to record that the expedition was entirely successful. The two astronomers went out to

Prince of Wales' Fort, and returned in the *Prince Rupert*, after having witnessed the transit of Venus on the 3rd of June 1769.

About the middle of the century there had grown up a deep prejudice and opposition towards the Hudson's Bay Company from the sailors and watermen who frequented the Thames.

It was alleged that the Company did nothing to make itself popular; its rules were strict and its wages to seamen were low, albeit it had never suffered very much from this prejudice until the return of the Middleton expedition. Many absurd stories became current as to the Company's policy and the life led by the servants at the factories. These travellers' tales had been thoroughly threshed out by the inquiry of 1749. Some enemies of the Company had invented "shocking narratives," and it was only natural, perhaps, that these should be passed about from mouth to mouth, and so become exaggerated beyond bounds. Upon the discharge and death of Captain Coats a demonstration against the Company had been talked of at Wapping and Gravesend, but nothing came of it but a chorus of hootings and bawlings as the ships sailed away on their annual voyages to the Bay.

By the year 1768, however, the dissatisfaction had spread to the Company's own seamen, and now took an active form. The time was well chosen by the malcontents, because the public were ready at that time to sympathise with any movement for the amelio-

ration of the conditions which characterised the merchant service generally.

The Company's seamen strike.

A numerous body of rioters forcibly entered the Company's ships in the River Thames, demanding that wages should be raised to 40s. per month. They struck the topgallant masts and yards, lowered the lower yards and carried away a great deal of canvas. The consequence was that the crews of the Company's ships and brigantine were compelled to quit their vessels.

The moment the tidings of this reached the Governor and Company it was deemed advisable for the Deputy Governor, Thomas Berens and James Fitzgerald, Esquires, to "attend his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, and such other gentlemen in the Administration as they shall find necessary, and represent the urgent situation of the Company's affairs in general."

This was done forthwith, the facts being placed before Viscount Weymouth and Sir Edward Hawke, First Lord of the Admiralty.

Secretary of State Weymouth appeared well disposed to do all the service in his power to redress the present grievances; himself suggesting that a memorial should be presented on the Company's behalf.

While the memorial was being drawn up, the three captains acquainted the Commissioners that by reason of the disturbances on the River Thames, they would not be able to secure the seamen they had already

got, save by allowing their sailors 40s. per month. It was then the 18th of May, and the Company considered that the lives of its servants abroad, and the issue of the intended voyage, would not admit of delay. They therefore told their three captains, and the master of the *Charlotte*, brigantine, that they would allow the sailors 35s. per month from their respective entries to that day, inclusive, and 40s. per month from thence for their voyage out and home.

Hardly had this been done than a letter was received expressing Lord Weymouth's great concern on being informed that the Company's ships had been prevented from sailing until a promise was made to raise the seamen's wages, and that some acts of violence had been committed to effect their purpose. From the strong assurance his Lordship had received that there was no danger of any obstacle to delay the voyages, he was almost ready to doubt the rumour.

Berens called on Weymouth and informed him that the Company's critical situation had already obliged the Company to acquiesce in the demand of 40s. per month for the seamen's wages. No acts of violence were committed on board the Company's ships, other than that the crews were daily forced against their inclination to join the rioters.

The ships were at length got down to Greenwich and proceeded on their voyage with despatch.

But the Company was not yet out of the wood. Clandestine trade was to be again its bogey. The

disaffection had been temporarily arrested amongst the sailors; but they were hardly prepared to learn that it extended to the captains themselves, who had, however, the best of reasons for concealing their sentiments. When the ships came home in the following year the Company received information that a seizure of furs and other valuable goods brought from Hudson's Bay had been made since the arrival of the Company's ships that season. Communication was entered into with the Commissioners of Customs requesting a particular account of such seizures either from the Company's ships or other places, "in order that the Commissioners may pursue an inquiry for detecting the frauds that have been committed to the prejudice of his Majesty's revenue and the interest of the Company."

Clandestine trade by the Company's captains.

Suspicion for the loss of numerous packages of furs now began to fasten itself upon one of the Company's captains, Horner of the *Seahorse*. Horner acknowledged that he had been not altogether ignorant that furs had been abstracted from the hold of his ship. The Company deliberated on his case, and it was "unanimously resolved that the said John Horner be discharged from the Company's service." The other captains were now called in and acquainted with the reasons for Captain Horner's discharge. The Adventurers declared their determination to make the like public example of all persons who should be found to be concerned in clandestine trade.

In the following year the Company came to a wise

decision. Taking into consideration the state of its trade and the many frauds that "have been practiced and detected," it was concluded that such frauds were connived at by the Company's chief factors and captains, who were not only privy thereto, but in consideration for some joint interest, permitted this illicit trade to be carried on.

The Company seems to have thought that the chief factors and captains might have been tempted to these nefarious practices by the smallness of their respective salaries, and therefore in the hope of securing their fidelity and encouraging diligence and industry, and the extending of the Company's trade to the utmost to the benefit of the Company and the Revenue, it was decided that a salary of £130 per annum be allowed the chief factors at York, Albany, and Prince of Wales' Forts; also the factors about to be appointed at Moose Fort and Severn House, "in lieu of former salaries, and all trapping gratuities, and perquisites whatever, except a servant, which is to be allowed to them as before."

Salaries increased.

A gratuity was to be given to all chief factors of three shillings upon every score of made beaver which they consigned and "which shall actually be brought home to the Company's account."

To the captains a gratuity was decreed of one shilling and sixpence per score of made beaver which they should bring to the Company's warehouse in good saleable condition.

To prevent any loss from rioters or dissatisfied sailors the Company decided, in 1770, to insure their ships and goods for the first time in its history. The secretary made inquiries at the London Assurance Office, and reported that the premium would be five per cent. per annum on each ship during their being in dock, or on the River Thames above Gravesend; and the same on the ships' stores while they continued in the Company's warehouse at Ratcliff. Whereupon the Company insured each of its three ships for £2000, and the ships' stores in the above warehouse for £3000.

Having thus touched upon matters affecting the Company at home, we now arrive at the second attempt on its behalf during a century to penetrate into the interior west of the Bay. For all practical purposes Henry Kelsey's expedition had been a failure.

CHAPTER XXV

1768–1773

Reports of the "Great River"—Company despatch Samuel Hearne on a Mission of Discovery—Norton's Instructions—Saluted on his Departure from the Fort—First and Second Journeys—Matonabee—Results of the Third Journey—The Company's Servants in the Middle of the Century—Death of Governor Norton.

Several northern Indians, who came as usual to trade at Prince of Wales' Fort in the spring of 1768, brought further accounts of the "Great River," as they persisted in calling it. They produced several pieces of copper, as specimens of a mine long believed by the traders to exist in that locality, and this decided Governor Norton to represent it to the Company as a matter well worthy their attention. Visiting England that very year he was given the opportunity of doing so in person. In consequence of his representations, the Committee resolved to despatch an intelligent person by land to observe the latitude and longitude of the river's mouth, and to make a chart of the country traversed, with such observations as might lead to a better knowledge of the region. A capable mariner, Samuel Hearne, then in the

The "Great River."

Company's employ as mate of the brig *Charlotte*, was selected for this important mission.[1]

Before starting on his journey in 1769, Hearne received full instructions from Moses Norton, the Governor. He was provided with an escort and was urged to cultivate, as he went, friendly relations with the Indians, to "smoke his calumet of peace with their leaders in order to establish a friendship with them." Equipped with proper instruments, he was required to take account of latitude and longitude of the chief points visited; he was to seek for a North-

[1] "From the good opinion we entertain of you," wrote the Company to Hearne, "and Mr. Norton's recommendation, we have agreed to raise your wages to £130 per annum for two years, and have placed you in our council at Prince of Wales' Fort; and we should have been ready to advance you to the command of the *Charlotte*, according to your request, if a matter of more immediate consequence had not intervened.

"Mr. Norton has proposed an inland journey, far to the north of Churchill, to promote an extension of our trade, as well as for the discovery of a North-West passage, copper mines, &c.; and as an undertaking of this nature requires the attention of a person capable of taking an observation for determining the longitude and latitude and also distances, and the course of rivers and their depths, we have fixed upon you (especially as it is represented to us to be your own inclination) to conduct this journey with proper assistants.

"We therefore hope you will second our expectations in readily performing this service, and upon your return we shall willingly make you any acknowledgment suitable to your trouble therein.

"We highly approve of your going in the *Speedwell* to assist in the whale-fishery last year, and heartily wish you health and success in the present expedition.—We remain, your loving friends,

"Bibye Lake, *Deputy Governor*.
John Anthony Merle.
Robert Merry.
Samuel Wegg.
James Winter Lake.
Herman Berens.
Joseph Sparrel.
James FitzGerald."

JOHN RAE, M.D., F.R.S.

From the picture in the National Portrait Gallery by STEPHEN PEARCE

West passage through the continent. But a more immediate and practical matter was dwelt upon by his chief. "Be careful to observe what mines are near the river, what water there is at the river's mouth, how far the woods are from the sea-side, the course of the river, the nature of the soil, and the productions of it; and make any other remarks that you may think will be either necessary or satisfactory. And if the said river be likely to be of any utility, take possession of it on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company by cutting your name on some of the rocks, and also the date of the year, month, &c."

Hearne's expedition of discovery.

Hearne promised implicitly to follow these instructions, and soon after daybreak on the morning of the 6th of November the occupants of the Fort assembled to witness the intrepid explorer's departure. A salute of seven guns and a ringing cheer thrice repeated was responded to by Hearne, already on his way, by a sweeping flourish of his cap.

He had not gone far, however, when dissatisfaction broke out amongst his party. First one Indian guide deserted him and then another; but trusting to the fidelity of the rest Hearne pressed forward. At last, nearly the whole party left him, taking at the same time several bags of powder and shot, his hatchets, chisels, and files. His chief guide, Chaw-chin-ahaw, now advised the explorer to return, and announced his own intention of travelling to his own tribe in the south-west.

'Thus," says Hearne, "they set out, making the woods ring with their laughter, and left us to consider our unhappy situation, nearly two hundred miles from Prince of Wales' Fort, all heavily laden, and in strength and spirits greatly reduced by hunger and fatigue."

Mortifying as the prospect of return was, it was inevitable. They reached the Fort on the 11th of December, to the astonishment of Norton and the Company's servants.

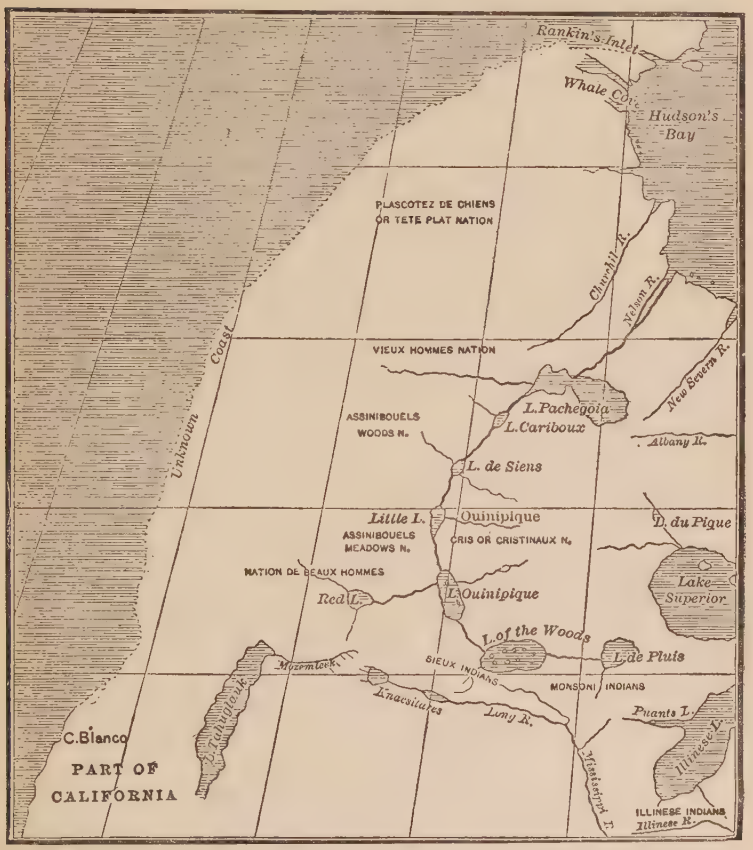
But Hearne was not easily to be daunted. On the 23rd of February he again set out with five Indians. This time his journey was a succession of short stages, with intervals of a whole day's rest between. These intervals were occupied in killing deer, or in seeking for fish under the ice with nets. On one occasion they spent a day in building a more permanent tent, where they waited for the flights of geese to appear.

Second expedition.

The course had been in a general north-western direction from the Churchill River, but on the 10th of June the party abandoned the rivers and lakes and struck out into the barren lands. The following narrative by Hearne is interesting, because up to that moment no servant of the Company had ever seen a live musk ox, that "now rare denizen of the northern solitudes."

"We had not walked above seven or eight miles before we saw three musk oxen grazing by the side of a small lake. The Indians immediately went in

pursuit of them, and as some were expert hunters they



DOBBS' MAP, 1744

soon killed the whole of them. This was, no doubt, very fortunate, but to our great mortification before

we could get one of them skinned, such a fall of rain came on as to put it out of our power to make a fire, which, even in the finest weather, could only be made of moss, as we were nearly a hundred miles from any woods. This was poor comfort for people who had not broken their fast for four or five days. Necessity, however, has no law, and having before been initiated into the method of eating raw meat, we were the better prepared for this repast. But this was by no means so well relished, either by me or the Southern Indians, as either raw venison or raw fish had been; for the flesh of the musk ox is not only coarse and tough, but smells and tastes so strong of musk as to make it very disagreeable when raw, though it is tolerable eating when properly cooked. The weather continued so remarkably bad, accompanied with constant heavy rain, snow, and sleet, and our necessities were so great by the time the weather permitted us to make a fire, that we had nearly eaten to the amount of one buffalo quite raw."

What severities of hardship were endured by our traveller may be judged from his description. "We have fasted many times," he declares, "two whole days and nights; twice upwards of three days, and once, while at Shethaunee, near seven days, during which we tasted not a mouthful of anything except a few cranberries, water, scraps of old leather and burnt bones. On these pressing occasions I have frequently seen the Indians

Hardships of the journey.

examine their wardrobe, which consisted chiefly of skin clothing, and consider what part could best be spared; sometimes a piece of an old, half-rotten deer-skin, and others a pair of old shoes, were sacrificed to alleviate extreme hunger."

It was while in the midst of these sufferings and bitter experiences, which required all the traveller's courage to endure, that a disaster of a different order happened. It was the 11th of August. Hearne had reached a point some five hundred miles north-west of Churchill. It proving rather windy at noon, although otherwise fine, he had let his valuable quadrant stand, in order to obtain the latitude more exactly by two altitudes. He then retired to eat his mid-day meal. Suddenly he was startled by a crash, and looking in the direction, found that a gust of wind had overturned the instrument and sent it crashing to earth. As the ground where it stood was very stony, the bubble, sight-vane, and vernier were entirely broken to pieces, and the instrument thus destroyed. In consequence of this misfortune, the traveller resolved to retrace his steps wearily back to Prince of Wales' Fort.

When he had arrived at Churchill River he had met the friendly chief, Matonabee,[1] who at once, and with charming simplicity, volunteered as a reason for

[1] "This leader," says Hearne, "when a youth, resided several years at the above Fort, and was not only a perfect master of the Southern Indian language, but by being frequently with the Company's servants

the troubles which had overtaken the white explorer, that he had taken no women with him on his journey. Said Matonabee—

"When all the men are heavy-laden they can neither hunt nor travel to any considerable distance: and in case they meet with success in hunting, who is to carry the product of their labour? Women," added he, "were made for labour; one of them carry or haul as much as two men can do. They also pitch our tents, make and mend our clothing, keep up our fires at night, and, in fact, there is no such thing as travelling any considerable distance, or for any length of time, in this country, without their assistance. Women," he observed again, "though they do everything, are maintained at a trifling expense, for as they always act as cooks, the very licking of their fingers in scarce times is sufficient for their subsistence."

The Indian's estimate of woman.

Hearne did not reach the Fort till towards the close of November. On the 21st he thus describes the weather: "That night we lay on the south shore of Egg River, but long before daybreak the next morning, the weather being so bad, with a violent gale of wind from the north-west, and such a drift of snow that we could not have a bit of fire, and as no good woods were near to afford us shelter, we agreed to proceed on

had acquired several words of English, and was one of the men who brought the latest accounts of the Coppermine River. It was on his information, added to that of one I-dot-le-ezry (who is since dead), that this expedition was set on foot."

our way, especially as the wind was on our backs; and though the weather was bad near the surface we could frequently see the moon and sometimes the stars, to direct us in our course. In this situation we continued walking the whole day, and it was not until after ten at night that we could find the smallest tuft of wood to put up in; for though we well knew we must have passed by several hummocks of shrubby wood that might have afforded us some shelter, yet the wind blew so hard and the snow drifted so excessively thick that we could not see ten yards before us the whole day." That night his dog, a valuable animal, was frozen to death, and after that there was nothing for it: he must himself haul his heavy sledge over the snowdrifts.

Twice baffled, yet our valiant explorer was far from being swerved from his purpose. Not even the distrust of Norton, who wrote home to the Company that Hearne was unfit for the task in hand, could discourage him from making a third attempt. On this journey, his plan was to secure the company and assistance of Matonabee, and three or four of the best Indians under that chief; and this was put into practice on the 7th of December 1770. This time the departure took place under different auspices. There was no firing of cannon from the Fort, no cheering, and no hearty God-speeds from the Governor and his staff.

Similar adventures to those encountered the first two journeys were met with. Hearne cultivated the friendship of strange, but not hostile savages, as he

went along. In one locality he took part in "snaring deer in a pound," or large stockade. The rest of the winter was spent in such a succession of advances as the weather and state of the country permitted. By April it was possible to obtain supplies of birchwood staves for tent poles, and birch rind and timber for building canoes. Spring enabled the party to proceed with greater rapidity, and at last a rendezvous at a place called Clowey was reached. From this point the final dash for the Coppermine River, the main object of the expedition, must be made. At Clowey some hundreds of Indians joined the little party to proceed to the Coppermine, and thus it grew suddenly into a military expedition, for the tribe was bent on making war on the Esquimaux, should the latter be met with.

The long-desired spot was attained at last. On the 14th of July Hearne and his party looked out over the dancing surface of the Coppermine River, and descending this stream to its mouth beheld the Arctic Ocean. Hearne was thus the first white man to reach the northern sea from the interior.

The expedition reaches the Arctic.

Says the explorer: "In those high latitudes, and at this season of the year, the sun is always at a good height over the horizon, so that we not only had daylight, but sunshine the whole night; a thick fog and drizzling rain then came on, and finding that neither the river nor sea were likely to be of any use, I did not think it worth while to wait for fair weather to

determine the latitude exactly by an observation. For the sake of form, however, after having had some consultation with the Indians, I erected a mark and took possession of the coast, on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company. I was not provided with instruments for cutting on stone, but I cut my name, date of the year, &c., on a piece of board that had been one of the Indian's targets, and placed it in a heap of stones on a small eminence near the entrance of the river, on the south side."

"It is, indeed," remarks Hearne, "well known to the intelligent and well-informed part of the Company's servants, that an extensive and numerous tribe of Indians, called E-arch-e-thinnews, whose country lies far west of any of the Company's or Canadian settlements, must have traffic with the Spaniards on the west side of the continent; because some of the Indians who formerly traded to York Fort, when at war with those people, frequently found saddles, bridles, muskets, and many other articles in their possession which were undoubtedly of Spanish manufacture."[1]

Hearne went home to England and related his experiences in a paper read before his employers, the

[1] "I cannot sufficiently regret," wrote Hearne in 1796, "the loss of a considerable vocabulary of the northern Indian language, containing sixteen folio pages, which was lent to the late Mr. Hutchins, then corresponding secretary to the Company, to copy for Captain Duncan, when he went on discoveries to Hudson's Bay in the year 1790. But Mr. Hutchins dying soon after, the vocabulary was taken away with the rest of his effects and cannot now be recovered, and memory, at this time, will by no means serve to replace it."

Honourable Adventurers.[1] It was not until some years later that it was discovered that he had, either in ignorance, or, according to one of his enemies named Dalrymple, "in a desire to increase the value of his performance," placed the latitude of the Coppermine at nearly 71 degrees north instead of at about 67½ degrees. Hearne's own apology was that after the breaking of his quadrant[2] on the second expedition, he was forced to employ an old Elton quadrant, which had for thirty years been amongst the relics and rubbish of Prince of Wales' Fort. But the geographical societies were indignant at having been thus imposed upon.

Hearne returns to England.

"I cannot help observing," wrote Hearne, "that I feel myself rather hurt at Mr. Dalrymple's rejecting my latitude in so peremptory a manner and in so great a proportion as he has done; because before I arrived at

[1] The Company had previously written thus to its servant, Mr. Samuel Hearne:—

"Sir,—Your letter of the 28th August last gave us the agreeable pleasure to hear of your safe return to our factory. Your journal and the two charts you sent sufficiently convinces us of your very judicious remarks.

"We have, naturally, considered your great assiduity in the various accidents which occurred in your several journeys. We hereby return you our grateful thanks, and to manifest our obligation we have consented to allow you a gratuity of £200 for those services."

"Mr. Dalrymple, in one of his pamphlets relating to Hudson's Bay, has been so very particular in his observations on my journey, as to remark that I have not explained the construction of the quadrant which I had the misfortune to break in my second journey to the North. It was a Hadley quadrant, with a bubble attached to it for a horizon, and made by Daniel Scatlif, of Wapping."—*Hearne.*

Cange-cath-a-whachaga, the sun did not set during the whole night, a proof that I was then to the northward of the Arctic Circle."

Hearne's journey, considering the epoch in which it was undertaken, the life led by the Company's servants at the forts, and the terrible uncertainties incident to plunging into an icy wilderness, with no security against hunger or the attacks of savages, was greater than it really appeared, and without doubt paved the way for the Company's new policy.

With the ship which brought Hearne over from England came a large number of young Orkney Islanders.

The labouring servants, as has been seen, were first in 1712, and from about 1775 onwards, procured from the Orkney Islands, their wages being about £6 a year. They were engaged by the captains of the ships, usually for a period of five years. Each servant signed a contract on his entrance into the service to serve for the term and not to return home until its expiration, unless recalled by the Company. He engaged during his passage back to do duty as watch on board ship without extra pay; but that which was the last and principal clause of the agreement related to illicit trading. He was bound in the most solemn manner not to detain, secrete, harbour or possess any skin or part of a skin, on any pretence whatever; but on the contrary, he was to search after and detect all persons who might be

Company employ Orkney Islanders.

disposed to engage in this species of speculation. Should he detect any such, he was to expose them to the Governor. If contrary to this agreement, any persons should be found bold enough to conceal any peltry or otherwise infringe his contract, they were to forfeit all the wages due them by the Company. Although a further penalty was nominally exacted under the contract, that of a fine of two years' pay, it was rarely carried into effect, and then only when the delinquent was believed to have largely profited by his illegal transaction.

In the early days when a servant's time expired and he was about to return home, the Governor in person was supposed to inspect his chest, even examining his bedding and other effects, to see that it contained not even the smallest marten skin. An almost equally rigorous surveillance attended the sending of private letters and parcels, not merely in the Bay alone, but in London. In the latter case, the parcel of clothing, &c., intended for the Company's distant servant, was first obliged to be sent to the Hudson's Bay House, and there undergo a careful examination for fear it should contain anything used in private trade.

During the time that the Indians were at the posts trading their furs, the gates were kept closed continually, it being the regular employment of one person to see that no one made his exit, for fear he should attempt a private barter with the Indians. While this rule was rarely relaxed, yet it was not at all of the forts

that so strict a watch was kept on the movements of the employees. At York Fort, however, during the eighteenth century, if a servant wished to take a walk on a Sunday afternoon, at a time when no natives were trading, it was first necessary to apply to the Governor for leave.

Of the run of the Company's servants in the latter half of the eighteenth century, a writer of that day has said of them: "They are a close, prudent, quiet people, strictly faithful to their employers," adding that they were "sordidly avaricious."

Whilst these young Scotchmen were scattered about the country in small parties amongst the Indians, their general behaviour won them the respect of the savages, as well as procured them their protection. It is a significant fact that for the first fifteen years of the new *régime* the Company did not suffer the loss of a single man, notwithstanding that their servants were annually exposed to all the dangers incident to the trade and times.

Character of the Company's traders.

It was observed that very few of the French-Canadian servants were to be entirely trusted with even a small assortment of goods, unless some substantial guarantee were first exacted. The chances were ten to one that the master would be defrauded of the whole stock of merchandise, often through the medium of the Indian women, who were quick to perceive what an easy prey was the one and how difficult the other.

The French-Canadian traders were brave and hardy; apt in learning the habits and language of the Indians; dexterous canoemen and of a lively, not to say boisterous, disposition; but none of these qualities, nor all together, were often the means of earning the respect and trust of the natives. And it must not be imagined that these talents and accomplishments were limited to the Canadians, even in the earliest days of rivalry.

"Though such may be the sentiments of their employers," wrote one of the Company's factors, "let these gentlemen for a while look around them and survey without prejudice the inhabitants of our own hemisphere, and they will find people who are brought up from their infancy to hardships, and inured to the inclemency of the weather from their earliest days; they will also find people who might be trusted with thousands, and who are much too familiarised to labour and fatigue to repine under the pressure of calamity as long as their own and their master's benefit is in view. I will further be bold to say that the present servants of the Company may be led as far inland as navigation is practicable, with more ease and satisfaction to the owners, than the same number of Canadians."

The former, it was noted, would be always honest, tractable, and obedient, as well from inclination as from fear of losing their pecuniary expectations; whereas the latter, being generally in debt, and having neither good name, integrity, nor property to lose, were always

neglectful of the property committed to their charge. Whenever difficulties arose there was never wanting some amongst them to impede the undertaking.

The Governor at each factory occasionally had a person to act with him, who was known as the second or under-factor. These, with the surgeon and the master of the sloop, constituted a council, who were supposed to deliberate in all cases of emergency or upon affairs of importance. Amongst the latter were classed the reading of the Company's general letter, received annually, and inditing a reply to it; the encroachments of their French, at a later period, Canadian rivals; or the misbehaviour of the servants. In these councils very little regard, it seems, was paid to the opinion of the subordinate members, who rather desired to obtain the Governor's favour by acquiescence rather than his resentment by opposition.

The council at the forts.

The Governors were appointed for either three or five years, and their nominal salary was from £50 to £150 per annum, which the premium on the trade often trebled and sometimes quadrupled. These officials commonly reigned as absolute in their petty commands as Eastern Nabobs; and as it was in a Governor's power to render the lives of those under them happy or unhappy as they chose, it was only natural that the inferior servants were most diligent in cultivating their goodwill. It was out of the power, of course, for any aggrieved or dissatisfied servant to return home until

the ships came, and if he then persisted in his intention, the payment of his wages was withheld until the Company should decide upon his character, which was furnished in writing by the Governor. Although the voice of an inferior servant counted but little when opposed to the Governor, yet there are few instances when the Company, in parting with a servant, refused him his wages in full.

It is an old axiom that austerity is acquired by a term of absolute petty dominion, so that it is not remarkable that the Company's early Governors were distinguished by this trait in the fullest degree.

"I had an opportunity," wrote one ex-factor, "of being acquainted with many Governors in my time. I could single out several whose affability and capacity merited a better employment. Some I have known who despised servility and unworthy deeds; but this was only for a time, and while young in their stations."

Such criticism, while doubtless unjust, had yet, applied generally, a basis of truth.

Robson complains of a Governor at Churchill, in his time, who had a thousand times rendered himself obnoxious to society. But perhaps the Company had never in its employ a more eccentric and choleric official than the Governor who was in command of York Factory from 1773 to 1784. It is said of him that his bad name extended even across the Atlantic and reached the Orkney Isles, where the malevolence of his disposition became

Character of the trading Governors.

a by-word, and restrained many youths from entering the Company's service. Intoxication seems to have been this official's principal delight; and this was often gratified at the expense of common prudence, as when the French captured York Factory in 1782, no common spirits being on hand, he procured raw alcohol from the surgeon, of which he drank several bumpers to raise his courage.

Although most of the Company's early trading Governors were, in spite of their tempers and habits, persons of education and intelligence, yet there were occasional exceptions. One, Governor Hughes, was said to be incapable of casting up a simple sum in addition; numeral characters being almost unknown to him; nor was his success in writing his own name greater. Yet his courage and business ability were beyond question.

It has already been observed that the Company were accustomed to treat with much deference, and to place great reliance upon their chief factors while these were at their posts in the Bay; yet it must not be supposed that the same consideration was extended to them on their return home. A Governor, it was said by one of the Company's servants, might attend the Hudson's Bay House, and "walk about their Hall for a whole day without the least notice being taken of his attendance." It is related that one such Governor, after having served the Company for a matter of seventeen years, went home in 1782, expecting to reap

in person some of the rewards of his faithful service in the compliments and attentions of the Adventurers as a body. But, to his chagrin, not the slightest attention was paid to him, and he returned without having even been introduced to a single partner.

On the 29th of December 1773, there died one of the notable characters in the Bay, Governor Moses Norton. Norton was an Indian half-breed, the son of a previous Governor, Richard Norton. He was born at Prince of Wales' Fort, but had been in England nine years, and considering the small sum spent on his education, had made considerable progress in literature. At his return to the Bay, according to Hearne, he entered into all the abominable vices of his countrymen. He established a seraglio, in which figured five or six of the most comely Indian maidens. Yet, although somewhat lax in his morality himself, he seems to have been by no means indulgent to the frailty of others. To his own friends and relatives, the Indians and half-breeds, it is said, he was "so partial that he set more value on, and showed more respect to, one of their favourite dogs than he ever did to his first officer." This is probably a spiteful exaggeration, but it is certain that Norton, although a man of ability, was not very popular. His great desire was to excite admiration for his skilful use of drugs. "He always," declared one of the Governor's enemies, "kept about him a box of poison to administer to those who refused him their wives or daughters."

Death of Governor Norton.

With all these bad qualities, no man took greater pains to inculcate virtue, morality, and continence upon others; always painting in the most glaring colours the jealous and revengeful disposition of the Indians, when any attempt was made to violate the chastity of their wives and daughters.

His apartments at the Fort were not only convenient, but had some pretensions to elegance, and were always crowded with his favourites. As this Governor advanced in years his jealousy increased, and it is said he actually poisoned two of his women because he thought they had transferred their affections elsewhere. He had the reputation of being a most notorious smuggler; but if he put, as alleged, many thousands into the pockets of the Company's captains, his affairs at his death demonstrated that he seldom put a shilling into his own.

Norton was succeeded in the governorship at Prince of Wales by Ferdinand Jacobs, in whose time arose the necessity for combating the growing Canadian trade rivalry.

CHAPTER XXVI

1773–1782

COMPANY SUFFERS FROM THE RIVALRY OF CANADIANS—CUMBERLAND HOUSE BUILT—DEBAUCHERY AND LICENCE OF THE RIVALS—FROBISHER INTERCEPTS THE COMPANY'S INDIANS—THE SMALLPOX VISITATION OF 1781—LA PÉROUSE APPEARS BEFORE FORT PRINCE OF WALES—HEARNE'S SURRENDER—CAPTURE OF YORK FORT BY THE FRENCH—THE POST BURNED AND THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS CARRIED AWAY PRISONERS.

THE Company was not immediately advised of the ruinous proceedings of the Montreal traders by its Governors at York Factory and Churchill River. But at length the diminution of trade became too marked not to cause the deepest concern. The Indians continued to bring in reports of other white traders speaking English, who intercepted them and gave them trinkets and rum in exchange for their furs. They declared they were conscious of having made a bad bargain in not continuing their journey onward to the Company's posts, but alas, what could they do? "The *Bostonnais*[1] was cunning and he deceived the

[1] The Eastern traders were always known by this title, as though hailing from Boston, in contradistinction to the "King George" or Company's men.

Indian." At last, in view of this grave state of affairs, it was felt that further delay in thwarting competition were the purest folly.

In the spring of 1774, therefore, Governor Jacobs obeyed his instructions to despatch Hearne to the westward, there to establish a post in the far interior. By this time the rival Canadian traders had carried the trade beyond the French limits, although, for reasons soon to be disclosed, all their activity was in vain, so far as material results either to themselves or their employers or capitalists, not to mention the aborigines themselves, were concerned.

Cumberland House built.

Hearne hit upon what he considered a good site for the new post at Sturgeon Lake, on the eastern bank, in latitude 53° 56′ and longitude 102° 15′. The post prospered almost from its foundation. The neighbouring tribes found that here were to be procured a larger and better assortment of goods than the Canadians brought them, and frequented it in preference.[1]

For several years now a trade with the Indians had been carried on in the footsteps of the French licence-holders.

What was to be expected, when the character of the Montreal traders themselves, and the commerce they prosecuted was considered, soon happened. This army of half-wild men, armed to the teeth, unhampered by legal restraint, constantly drinking, carousing, and quar-

[1] Upon the new post was bestowed the name of Cumberland House.

relling amongst themselves, gradually spread over the north-west, sowing crime and anarchy wherever they went. The country they traded in was so distant, and their method of transportation so slow, that they were fortunate if they reached their winter quarters without leaving the corpses of several of their number to mark the path of their long journey.

Was it singular that trade carried on in such a fashion, and with results so ruinous, should cause the "partners," as these unhappy individuals who had furnished the funds were called, to contemplate the future with dismay? Season after season the "winterers" returned to the Grand Portage with the same tale; and season after season were better profits promised, but never, alas, for their dupes, were these promises fulfilled!

Matters were thus improving—from the Company's standpoint—when one sober and enterprising trader, Joseph Frobisher, resolved to leave the beaten track and penetrate nearer to the Company's Factory than any yet had done. In the spring of 1775, as a band of Indians were on their way as usual to Prince of Wales' Fort, they were met by Frobisher, who caused them to halt and to drink and smoke with him. The chiefs imagined he was one of the Company's factors, and Frobisher did not choose to undeceive them. His wares being of a better quality than those of his compeers, the Indians suffered themselves to be persuaded

Frobisher intercepts Company's Indians.

to trade on the spot, which was at a portage afterwards called by the Montreal traders La Traite, by reason of this episode. The Indians, nevertheless, resumed their journey to Churchill River, where the indignation of Hearne and the Council knew no bounds. He informed the Indians that a "scurvy trick" had been played upon them; and so characterised it in his official report to the Company. A few Indians having still some of the heavier furs by them, were paid double for these as an encouragement to a wiser discrimination in future. Nevertheless, in spite of all, the "scurvy trick" was repeated by Frobisher the following year, who on both occasions secured enormous booty.[1]

The difficulties and sufferings of these two undertakings, however, affected him with a distaste for their repetition; he preferred to send his brother Benjamin to further explore the region. This the latter accomplished, going as far west as the Lake of Isle à la Crosse.

[1] The following may be quoted as prices (not, however, official) paid by the Company's factors about 1775, at its inland posts:—

A gun	20	beaver skins.
A strand blanket	10	do.
A white do.	8	do.
An axe of one pound weight . .	3	do.
Half a pint of gunpowder . .	1	do.
Ten balls	1	do.

The principal profits accrued from the sale of knives, beads, flint, steels, awls, and other small articles. Tobacco fetched one beaver skin per foot of "Spencer's Twist," and rum "not very strong," two beaver skins per bottle.

The difficulties of transport are pointed out in the letters of this Frobisher and another trader named McGill. The value of each canoe load, on arrival at Michilimackinac, had been estimated, in 1780, to be £660 currency, equal to $2640, showing the cost of transport by the Ottawa to have been $640 for each canoe; the value at Montreal having been $2000. In April 1784 Benjamin Frobisher wrote that twenty-eight canoes were ready to be sent off, valued at £20,000 currency, or $80,000, a sum for each canoe largely in excess of the estimate of four years before.

Frobisher's success in intercepting the Company's Indians induced others to attempt a similar course. The idea was, of course, to give goods of a better character, and to travel so far into the savage country as to relieve the Indian, who always contemplated the annual journey to the Company's post with repugnance, of such necessity. In 1779 Peter Pond, an able but desperate character, was the first to attempt storing such goods as he could not bring back immediately, in one of the wintering huts at Elk River, against his return the following season. This imitation of a Company's post proved successful, and led to its being repeated on a larger scale.

But matters were not equally propitious for the vast bulk of the pedlars, bushrangers, swashbucklers, and drunken half-breeds who were comprised in the Canadian trading fraternity. A numerous crew of them got from their winter quarters at Saskatchewan

to the Eagle Hills in the spring of 1780, where high revelry was held amidst a body of Indians as drunken as, and much more noisy and abandoned than, themselves. One of the traders becoming tired of the continued application of an Indian for more grog, gave him a dose of laudanum. The savage thereupon staggered a few steps away, lay down and died. A cry went up from the man's wives, a skirmish ensued, and the sun went down on seven corpses. One of the traders, two of his men, and four half-breed voyageurs lost their lives, the rest being forced to abandon their all and take to flight.

The same spring, two of the Canadian posts on the Assiniboine River were assailed during a quarrel. Several white men and a large number of Indians were killed.

Terrible smallpox epidemic.

Whatever "pale-face vengeance" might have been meditated at this juncture was nipped in the bud; for in 1781 an epidemic of smallpox broke out, wreaking a memorable destruction upon all the Indians of Rupert's Land.

The extraordinary and fatal facility with which this disease had always made headway among the aborigines of the North American continent is worthy of remark. There must have been some predisposition in their constitutions which rendered them an easy prey to this scourge of Europe. When the boon brought into England by Lady Mary Montagu arrested and partially disarmed the monster, smallpox still wrought

unmitigated havoc amongst whole tribes and circles of the Red men, more than decimating the population. Occasionally it destroyed entire camps, leaving scarcely more than a single shrivelled hag to relate to the Company's factors the fell tale of destruction.

The scourge which depopulated vast regions naturally cleared the country of white traders. Two parties did, indeed, set out from Montreal in 1781–82, with the avowed intention of making permanent settlements on Churchill River and at Athabasca. But the smallpox had not yet done its worst, and they were driven back with only seven packages of beaver. As for the Company's factories this season was a better one than the preceding, and the Adventurers might have rejoiced had not an event now happened which entirely annulled all their commercial advantages.

England and France had been again at war, but none had as yet dreamt of a sea attack on the Company's posts in the Bay. Such a thing had not happened for upwards of eighty years, and the conquest of Canada seemed to so preclude its probability that the Adventurers had not even instructed their Governors in the Bay to be on the alert for a possible foe.

Up to the era of the terrible smallpox visitation in 1782, the remote Chippewas and far-off tribes from Athabasca and the Great Slave Lake, travelling to Churchill River, must have gazed with wonder at its

solid masonry and formidable artillery of Fort Prince of Wales. The great cannon whose muzzles stared grimly from the walls had already been woven into Indian legend, and the Company's factors were fond of telling how the visiting Red men stood in astonishment for hours at a time before this fortress, whose only parallel on the continent was Quebec itself.

Fort Prince of Wales had been built, as we have seen, at a time when the remembrance of burned factories and of posts easily captured and pillaged by French and Indians was keen amongst the Honourable Adventurers. But that remembrance had long since faded; the reasons for which the fort had been built had seemingly vanished. As a consequence the garrison gradually waned in numbers, until on the 8th of August 1782, only thirty-nine defenders[1] within its walls witnessed the advent of three strange ships in the Bay. The word ran instantly from mouth to mouth that these were three French men-of-war. Consternation and incredulity were quickly succeeded by anxiety. Two score pairs of English eyes watched the strangers, and saw them lower pinnace, gig, and long-boat, whilst a number of swarthy whiskered sailors began busily to sound the approaches to the harbour. As may be believed, an anxious night was passed in the fort by

French attack Fort Prince of Wales.

[1] "What folly," asks one of the Company's servants, "could be more egregious than to erect a fort of such extent, strength, and expense, and only allow thirty-nine men to defend it?"

Governor Samuel Hearne and his men. Daybreak showed the strangers already disembarking in their boats, and as the morning sun waxed stronger, an array of four hundred troops was seen to be drawn up on the shore of Churchill Bay, at a place called Hare Point. Orders were given to march, and with the flag of France once more unfurled on these distant sub-Arctic shores, the French attacking party approached the Company's stronghold.

When about four hundred yards from the walls they halted, and two officers were sent on ahead to summon the Governor to surrender. The hostile ships were declared to be the *Sceptre*, seventy-four guns, the *Astarte*, and the *Engageante*, of thirty-six guns each, the French possessing besides four field guns, two mortars, and three hundred bomb-shells. Such was the fleet in command of Admiral La Pérouse. It appears that La Pérouse had reckoned on arriving in time to secure a handsome prize in the Company's ships, for which he had lain in wait in the Bay.

Hearne on the receipt of this summons to surrender from the French, seems to have become panic-stricken. Believing resistance useless, the Governor snatched up a table-cloth, which to the surprise of the French was soon seen waving from the parapet of the fort. Fort Prince of Wales was thus yielded without a shot being fired on either side.

The French admiral lost no time in transporting what guns he could find to his ships, and replenishing

his depleted commissariat from the well-filled provision stores of the fort.[1]

La Pérouse was both angry and disappointed at the escape of the Company's ships and cargoes. One of these ships, bound for Fort Churchill, he had met in the Bay and immediately sent a frigate in pursuit. But Captain Christopher, by the steering of the French frigate, judged rightly that her commander knew nothing of the course, and so resorted to strategy. When night came he furled his sails, as if about to anchor, a proceeding which the French captain imitated. When he had anchored, the Company's vessel re-set her sails, and was many leagues distant by the time the French fleet reached Churchill River.

The taking of possession was followed by license on the part of the soldiers, and the utter looting of the fort. An attempt, occupying two days, was made to demolish it; but although French gunpowder was

[1] An account of Hearne's journey was found in MS. among the papers of the Governor, and La Pérouse declares in his memoirs that Hearne was very pressing that it should be returned to him as his private property. "The goodness of La Pérouse's heart induced him to yield to this urgent solicitation, and he returned the MS. to him on the express condition, however, that he should print and publish it immediately on his arrival in England." "Notwithstanding this," observes Mr. Fitzgerald, "Hearne's travels did not appear until 1795, *i.e.* twenty-three years after they were performed." This gentleman, so distinguished in his zeal to prove a case against the Company, evidently overlooks the circumstance of the gist of travels having been issued in pamphlet form in 1773 and again in 1778–80. The volume of 1795 was merely an amplification—the product of Hearne's leisure upon retirement.

freely added to the Company's store, yet the walls resisted their best efforts.

Of solid masonry, indeed, was Prince of Wales' Fort. The French artillerymen could only displace the upper rows of the massive granite stones, dismount its guns, and blow up the gateway, together with the stone outwork protecting it.

It has been remarked as strange that Hearne, who had proved his personal bravery in his Arctic travels, should have shown such a craven front on this occasion to the enemy. His own men were all greatly astonished, and Edward Umfreville, who was taken prisoner at the capture of the fort, afterwards publicly declared that he, with others, were disgusted at the Governor's cowardice. He asserted that the French were weak and reduced in health after their long sea-voyage, that most of them were wretchedly clad, and half of the entire number barefoot.

"I assure your Honours," wrote John Townsend, "that had we shown a front to the enemy, our fort would have outlasted their ammunition, and then they would have been completely at our mercy."

Hearne blamed for surrendering.

The Company was very indignant at the conduct of Governor Hearne. They demanded the reason why he had not sent a scout overland to apprise York Factory of the enemy's proximity. To this Hearne replied that he was given no opportunity, and that any such scout would inevitably have been seized and slain.

On the 11th of August the French fleet set sail for Port Nelson and anchored there. One of the Company's ships was in the harbour at the time, and the captain, perceiving the approach of three large ships, and scenting danger, put out to sea in the night. He was instantly pursued by a frigate, which plainly outsailed him. Whereupon Captain Fowler tacked and made for the south in the hope of enticing the Frenchman into shallow water. But her commander was by no means to become so easy a prey to destruction, and refused to follow.

On the following day the news was brought to the Governor that the enemy was landing in fourteen boats, provided with mortars, cannon, scaling ladders, and about three hundred men, exclusive of marines.

York Factory at this time was garrisoned by sixty English and twelve Indians. Its defence consisted of thirteen cannon, twelve and nine pounders, which formed a half-moon battery in front; but it being thought probable that the enemy would arrive in the night and turn these guns against the fort, they were dismounted and overturned into the ditch. On the ramparts were twelve mounted swivel guns, and within the fort was abundance of small arms and ammunition. A rivulet of fresh water ran within the stockades; and there were also thirty head of cattle and as many hogs within the confines of the fort.

On the 22nd, two Indian scouts were despatched

to obtain intelligence; these returned in three hours with the information that, in their judgment, the enemy were distant less than a league. Indeed they had heard several guns fired in the neighbourhood of the fort; and at sunset of that day all could plainly discern a large fire, presumably kindled by the French, about a mile and a half to the west.

French attack York Factory.

At ten o'clock the next morning the enemy appeared before the gates. "During their approach," says one of those in the fort at the time, "a most inviting opportunity offered itself to be revenged on our invaders by discharging the guns on the ramparts, which must have done great execution."

Unhappily, the Governor was hardly the man for such an occasion. He knew nothing of war, and had a wholesome dread of all armed and equipped soldiery. He trembled so that he could scarcely stand, and begged the surgeon, "for God's sake to give him a glass of liquor to steady his nerves." There being none at hand, he swallowed a tumbler of raw spirits of wine. This so far inspired him with courage and determination, that he peremptorily declared he would shoot the first man who offered to fire a gun. Dismay took possession of the Company's servants; the second in command and the surgeon endeavoured to expostulate, and to implore that a defence be made. To avert this harangue, the Governor caught up a white sheet with his own hand and waved it from a window of the

fort. The signal was answered by the French officer's displaying his pocket handkerchief.

Under the sanction of this flag of truce a parley took place. The Governor was summoned to surrender within two hours.

But no such time was needed by the Governor; and the fort was most ingloriously yielded in about ten minutes. In vain did the council plead that this fort could have withstood the united efforts of double the number of those by whom it was assailed in an attack with small arms. In vain they demonstrated that from the nature of the enemy's attack by way of Nelson River, they could not use their mortars or artillery, the ground being very bad and interspersed with woods, thickets, and bogs. The Governor was resolved to yield the place, and he carried out his intention, much to the astonishment and satisfaction of that gallant mariner, La Pérouse.

The unwisdom of the surrender was afterwards too apparent. It was made to a half-starved, half-shod body of Frenchmen, worn out by fatigue and hard labour, not a man of whom was familiar with the country. It was perceived also, when it was too late, that the enemy's ships lay at least twenty miles from the factory, in a boisterous sea. Consequently, they could not co-operate with their troops on shore, save with the greatest difficulty and uncertainty, and if the fort had held out a few weeks, such junction would have been impossible.

Unwise surrender.

The French troops could have received no supplies but what came from the ships; and cold, hunger, and fatigue would have been working hourly in favour of the Company's men.

La Pérouse now issued orders for the fort to be evacuated and burned, and the Company's people were taken prisoners.

The Company suffered great loss by the capture of York Factory, which had, as we have seen, remained in their possession since the Treaty of Utrecht. The whole of the furs which had not yet been sent on board the ship were destroyed, as well as a large quantity of stores, implements, and appliances which had been collecting for nearly seventy years.

The expedition had resulted in two cheap conquests for La Pérouse. But the fortunes of war bade fair to alter the situation. The Company sent in a bill to the British Government of many thousands of pounds for failing to protect their fort on Churchill River; and when peace was proclaimed, the French plenipotentiary agreed on behalf of his master to settle this bill.[1]

Fort Prince of Wales was never rebuilt. To-day its ruins mark the most northerly fortress on the continent of North America, scarcely inferior in strength to Louisburg or to Quebec. "Its site," remarks Dr. Bell,

[1] Only unhappily the first payment was postponed to 1789, a year in which Lewis had the domestic debts of centuries to settle. The bill was not paid.

who recently paid a visit to the spot, "was admirably chosen; its design and armament were once perfect; interesting still as a relic of bygone strife, but useful now only as a beacon for the harbour it had failed to protect." Although the French themselves sustained no loss from the English in their brief campaign against the fort; yet, owing to the severity of the climate and their own inexperience, they lost five large boats, a considerable quantity of merchandise, and fifteen soldiers who were drowned in Hays River after the surrender of the fort.[1]

[1] "From the attack made upon the settlements by La Pérouse and the consequent failure of our supplies, many of the Indians (who relied for subsistence upon the forts) were found starved to death."—Company's Petition, 1809.

CHAPTER XXVII

1783–1800

Disastrous effects of the Competition—Montreal Merchants combine—The North-Westers—Scheme of the Association—Alexander Mackenzie—His two Expeditions reach the Pacific—Emulation difficult—David Thompson.

Before the Scotch traders from Canada had penetrated into the Company's territory, York factory had annually, for many years, sent to London at least 30,000 skins. There were rarely then more than twenty-five men employed in the fort at low wages. In 1790 the Company maintained nearly one hundred men at this post, at larger wages, yet the number of skins averaged only about 20,000 from this and all the other posts combined. The rivalry daily grew stronger and more bitter. Yet from what has been seen of the habits and character of the Canadian bushrangers and pedlars, it is almost unnecessary to say that the Company's servants ingratiated themselves more into the esteem and confidence of the Indians wherever and whenever the two rivals met. The advantage of trade, it has been well said, was on their side—because their honesty was

Competition of the Canadian traders.

proven. But there was another reason for the greater popularity of the Company amongst the natives, and it was that the principal articles of their trading goods were of a quality superior to those imported from Canada.

The extraordinary imprudence and ill manner of life which characterised the Montreal traders and voyageurs continually offset the enterprise and exertions of their employers. Many such fell-mongers had spent the greater portion of their lives on this inland service; they were devoid of every social and humane tie, slaves to the most corrupting vices, more especially drunkenness. So that it is not strange that they were held in small esteem by the Indians, who, when a choice was free to them, finding themselves frequently deceived by specious promises, were not long in making up their minds with whom to deal. Besides, in 1784 the Company paid better prices than of yore.

"Till the year 1782," says the fur-trader Mackenzie, "the people of Athabaska sent or carried their furs regularly to Fort Churchill, and some of them have since that time repaired farther, notwithstanding they could have provided themselves with all the necessaries which they required. The difference of the price set on goods here and at the factory, made it an object with the Chippewas to undertake a journey of five or six months, in the course of which they were reduced to the most painful extremities, and often lost their lives from hunger and fatigue. At present,

however, this traffic is, in a great measure, discontinued, as they were obliged to expend in the course of their journey that very ammunition which was its most alluring object." It was far from being discontinued, only the Company had suddenly to face a more determined and judicious warfare by the better class of Canadian traders. The enterprise had been checked, first by the animosity of the Indians, and at the same time by the ravages of the smallpox, but during the winter of 1783–84, the Montreal merchants resolved, for the better prosecution of their schemes, to effect a junction of interests, by forming an association of sixteen equal shares, without, however, depositing any capital. The scheme was to be carried out in this way: each party was to furnish a proportion of such articles as were necessary in the trade, while the actual traders, or "wintering partners," of these merchants were to receive each a corresponding share of the profits. To this association was given, on the suggestion of Joseph Frobisher, the name of the North-West Company. The chief management of the business was entrusted to the two Frobishers and Simon McTavish, another Scotch merchant in Montreal.

Montreal merchants combine.

Accordingly, in May 1784, Benjamin Frobisher and McTavish went to the Grand Portage with their credentials from the other partners in the new undertaking. Here they met the bulk of the traders and voyageurs, who were delighted to hear of the new

scheme. These entered heartily into the spirit of the undertaking, and that spring embarked for the West with the merchandise and provisions brought them, with a lighter heart than they had known for years, and with a determination to profit by the disasters of the past. Not all of the chief traders, it must be said, cast in their lots with the new company. Two, Pond and Pangman by name, opposed it; and finding a couple of merchants who were willing to furnish sufficient capital, resolved to strike out for themselves as rivals to the North-West company. This action occasioned, as might be expected, great bitterness and disorder. Nevertheless, it was the means of bringing to light a young Scotchman from the Isles, whose name will be forever linked with the North-West.

This young man, whose name was Alexander Mackenzie, had been for five years in the counting-house of Gregory, one of the merchants who had allied themselves with the two malcontents. It was now decided that Mackenzie should set out with Pond and Pangman in their separate trading venture into the distant Indian country. A more perilous business than this can scarcely be imagined. Besides the natural difficulties, the party had to encounter all the fiercest enmity and opposition of which the adherents of the new association were capable. It is enough to say, that after a fearful struggle they forced the latter to allow them a participation in the trade. But the feat which resulted in the coalition of the

Alexander Mackenzie.

two interests in 1787 cost them dear. One of the partners was killed, another lamed for life, and many of their voyageurs injured. Yet the establishment, thus strengthened, and shorn of all rivals save the Company, was placed on a solid basis, and the fur-trade of Canada began to assume larger proportions than it had yet done under the English *régime*. As this North-West concern was finally itself to merge into the Company of which these chapters are the history, it will not be unprofitable to glance at its constitution and methods, particularly as the economic fabric was shortly to be imitated, as being better adapted to the growing stringency of the situation.

The "North-West Company" was, in effect, an association of merchants agreeing among themselves to carry on the fur-trade by itself, although many of these merchants plied other commerce. "It may be said," observes Mackenzie, "to have been supported entirely on credit; for whether the capital belonged to the proprietor, or was borrowed, it equally bore interest, for which the association was annually accountable."

The North-West Company.

The concern comprised twenty shares unequally divided and amongst the parties concerned. "Of these a certain proportion was held by the people who managed the business in Canada, and were styled agents for the company. Their duty was to import the necessary goods from England, store them at their own expense at Montreal, get them made up into articles suited to the trade, pack and

forward them, and supply the cash that might be wanting for the outfits." For all this they received, besides the profit on their shares, an annual commission on the business done. A settlement took place each year, two of the partners going to Grand Portage to supervise affairs of that growing centre, now outrivalling Detroit, Michilimackinac and Sault Ste. Marie. The furs were seen safely to the company's warehouse in Montreal, where they were stored pending their shipment to England.

Then there was the other proprietary class—the actual traders, who conducted the expeditions amongst the Indians and furnished no capital. If they succeeded in amassing capital by the trade they were privileged to invest it in the company through the aforesaid agents, but could never employ it privately. There were several who from long service and influence had acquired double shares, and these were permitted to retire from activity, leaving one of such shares to whichever young man in the service they chose to nominate, provided always he was approved of by the company. Such successions, we are told, were considered as due to either seniority or exceptional merit. The retiring shareholder was relieved from any responsibility concerning the share he transferred, and accounted for it according to the annual value or rate of the property. Thus the trader who disposed of his extra share had no pecuniary advantage from the sale, but only drew a continuous profit from the share which as a sleeping partner he retained.

By such means all the younger men who were not provided for at the inception of the North-West company, or when they afterwards entered into service, were likely to succeed to the situation and profits of regular partners in the concern. By their contract they entered the company's service as articled clerks for five or seven years. Occasionally they succeeded to shares before the expiration of their apprenticeship. None could be admitted as a partner unless he had first served such apprenticeship to the fur-trade, wherefore shares were transferable only to the concern at large. As for the sleeping partner, he could not, of course, be debarred from selling out if he chose, but were the transaction not countenanced by the rest, his name continued to figure in committee, the actual owner of the share being regarded as merely his agent or attorney. A vote accompanied every share, two-thirds constituting a majority.

Partnership regulations.

Such, in brief, was the remarkable constitution of this commercial body—a constitution which was in those days wholly without parallel. By such regular and equitable methods of providing for all classes of employees, a zeal and independence were fostered. Every petty clerk felt himself a principal, as indeed he was, and his loyalty and thrift became forthwith assured.

It has been argued, and not unjustly, that such a constitution was inevitable; that no merit need be

ascribed to its originators; that it was evolved, so to speak, by the situation itself. The character of the fur-trade at that time was such, the commerce so hazardous and diffused over so vast a country, that without the spirit of emulation thus evoked the new fur company must quickly have resolved itself into its constituent particles. Nevertheless, foresight as well as courage was demanded, and, in this corporation of Canadian Scotchmen, was forthcoming.

As for the value of the business in 1788, the furs, merchandise, provisions, and equipments were worth the sum of £40,000. This might properly be called the stock of the company, for as Mackenzie, who was now one of its traders, remarked, it included within the gross expenditure for that year the amount of the property unexpended, which having been appropriated for that year's adventure was carried on to the account of the next season.

So greatly did the new company flourish, that the gross amount of the adventure ten years later was close upon £125,000. But in that year, 1798, dissensions began to set in which will be noticed in another chapter.

In 1789 Mackenzie felt that the time was ripe to prosecute a scheme towards which his mind had long been directed—a journey to the far North and afterwards a voyage overland to the Pacific, which Verandrye, as we have seen, had failed through the hand of death to achieve. His commercial associates

by no means relished the enterprise; but Mackenzie's power and influence had now grown considerable, and he found means in this year to carry out his desire. On the 3rd of June 1789, Mackenzie set out from Fort Chipewyan, at the head of Athabaska Lake, a station nearly midway between Hudson's Bay and the Pacific.

Mackenzie's expedition to the Arctic.

The young explorer had served here for eight years, and was familiar with the difficulties he had to face, as well as aware of the best methods of overcoming them. Taking with him four canoes, he directed a German and four Canadians with their wives to occupy the first. In the second canoe was a northern Indian called English Chief, who had been a follower of Matonabee, Hearne's chief guide and counsellor, and his two wives. The third was taken up by Mackenzie himself and two sturdy young savages, who served in the double capacity of hunters and interpreters; whilst the fourth was laden with provisions, clothing, ammunition, and various articles designed as presents to the Indians. This canoe was in charge of one of the clerks of the North-West concern, named Le Roux.

In such fashion and in such numbers did Mackenzie's party set forth from Fort Chipewyan. By the 4th of June they reached Slave River, which connects the Athabaska and Slave Lakes in a course of about 170 miles; on the 9th of the same month they sighted Slave Lake itself. During this part of the journey they had suffered no other inconvenience than that

arising from the attacks of the mosquitoes during the heat of the day, and the excessive cold which characterises the nights in that country, especially in the hours preceding dawn.

Skirting the shore they came to a lodge of Red Knife Indians, so called from their use of copper knives. One of these natives offered to conduct Mackenzie to the mouth of that river, which was the object of his search, as the Coppermine had been of Hearne's. Unhappily, so numerous were the impediments encountered from drift ice, contrary winds, and the ignorance of their guide (whom English Chief offered to murder for his incompetence), that it was the 29th of the month before they embarked upon the stream which to-day bears the name of the leader of the party who then first ascended it.

On quitting the lake, the Mackenzie River was found to take its course to the westward, becoming gradually narrower for twenty-four miles, till it dwindled to a stream half a mile wide, having a strong current and a depth of three and a half fathoms. A stiff breeze from the eastward now drove them on at a great speed, and after a run of ten miles the channel widened gradually until it assumed the appearance of a small lake. The guide confessed that this was the limit of his acquaintance with the river. Soon afterwards they came in sight of the chain of Horn Mountains, bearing north-west, and experienced some difficulty in resuming the channel of the river. The party

continued the journey for five days without interruption. On July 6th they observed several columns of smoke on the north bank, and on landing discovered an encampment of five families of Slave and Dog-ribbed Indians, who, on the appearance of the white men, fled in consternation to the woods. English Chief, however, called after them, in a tongue they understood, and they, though reluctantly, responded to his entreaties to return, especially when such were accompanied by offers of gifts. The distribution of a few beads, rings, and knives, with a supply of grog, soon reconciled them to the strangers. But the travellers were somewhat appalled to learn from the Indians of those regions of the journey which awaited them. It was asserted that it would require several winters to reach the sea; that old age would inevitably overtake the party before their return. Demons of terrible shape and malevolent disposition were stated to have their dwellings in the rock caves which lined the river's brim, and these were ready to devour the hardy spirits who should dare continue their journey past them. This information Mackenzie and his party endeavoured to receive with equanimity; they were staggered more at the narrative of two impassable falls which were said to exist about thirty days' march from where they then were.

Journey down the Mackenzie River.

But although the effect of these tales on the leader of the expedition was not great, his Indians, already weary of travelling, drank all in with sympathetic ears.

They could hardly be induced to continue the journey. When their scruples were overcome, one of the Dog-ribbed Indians was persuaded by the present of a kettle, an axe, and some other articles to accompany them as guide. But, alas, when the hour for embarkation came, his love of home overbore all other considerations, and his attempt at escape was only frustrated by force.

Continuing their journey, they passed the Great Bear Lake River, and steering through numerous islands came in sight of a ridge of snowy mountains, frequented, according to their guide, by herds of bears and small white buffalo. The banks of the river were seen to be pretty thickly peopled with natives, whose timidity was soon overcome by small gifts. From these Indians was procured a seasonable supply of hares, partridges, fish, and reindeer. The same stories of spirits or manitous which haunted the stream, and of fearful rapids which would dash the canoes in pieces, were repeated by these tribes. This time they had a real effect. The guide, during a storm of thunder and lightning, decamped in the night, and no doubt fled for home as rapidly as his legs, or improvised canoe, could carry him. No great difficulty, however, was experienced in procuring a substitute, and after a short sail the party approached an encampment of Indians, whose brawny figures, healthy appearance, and cleanliness were a great improvement on the other tribes they had seen. From these Mackenzie learnt that he

must sleep ten nights before arriving at the sea. In three nights, he was told, he would meet with Esquimaux, with whom they had been at war, but were now at peace.

It was evident that none in these parts had ever heard the sound of firearms, for when one of Mackenzie's men discharged his fowling-piece, the utmost terror took possession of them.

When this intrepid pioneer through the lands of the Hudson's Bay Company had reached a latitude of 67° 47′, a great range of snowy mountains burst into view. Mackenzie by this time was convinced that the waters on which the four frail barks were gliding must flow into the Arctic Ocean.

When within a few days of accomplishing the great object of the journey, the attendant Indians sunk into a fit of despondency and were reluctant to proceed. The new guide pleaded his ignorance of the region, as he had never before penetrated to what he and his fellows termed the Benahulla Toe.[1] Mackenzie, thereupon, assured them all that he would return if it were not reached in seven days, and so prevailed on them to continue the journey.

The nights were now illumined by a blazing sun, and everything denoted the proximity of the sea. On landing at a deserted Esquimaux encampment, several pieces of whale-bone were observed; also a place where train-oil had been spilt. Signs of vegetation grew rarer and rarer, and it was with great relief

[1] White Man's Lake.

that on the 12th of July the explorer reached what appears to have been an arm of the Arctic Sea. It was quite open to the westward, and by an observation the latitude was found to be 69°. All before them, as far as they could see, was a vast stretch of ice. They continued their course with difficulty fifteen miles to the westernmost extremity of a high island, and then it was found impossible to proceed farther. Many other islands were seen to the eastward; but though they came to a grave, on which lay a bow, a paddle, and a spear, they met no living human beings in those Arctic solitudes. The red fox and the reindeer, flocks of beautiful plover, some venerable white owls, and several large white gulls were the only natives.

The explorer reaches the Arctic.

But Mackenzie knew he had triumphed; for he had, as he stood on the promontory of Whale Island, caught sight of a shoal of those marine night monsters from whom the island then received its name. Before returning, Mackenzie caused a post to be erected close to the tents, upon which the traveller engraved the latitude of the spot, his own name, the number of persons accompanying him, and the time they spent on the island.

On the 16th of July they set out on their long journey to the fort. On the 21st the sun, which for some time had never set, descended below the horizon, and on that day they were joined by eleven of the natives. These represented their tribe as numerous,

and perpetually at war with the Esquimaux, who had broken a treaty into which they had seduced the Indians and had massacred many of them. On one occasion an Indian of a strange tribe beyond the mountains to the west endeavoured to draw for Mackenzie a map of that distant country with a stick upon the sand. It was a rude production, but it gave the explorer an idea. The savage traced out a long point of land between two rivers. This isthmus he represented as running into the great lake, at the extremity of which, as he had been told by Indians of other nations, there was built a Benahulla Couin, or White Man's Fort.

"This," says Mackenzie, "I took to be Oonalaska Fort, and consequently the river to the west to be Cook's River, and that the body of water or sea into which the river discharges itself at Whale Island communicated with Norton Sound."

Mackenzie in vain endeavoured to procure a guide across the mountains; the natives refused to accompany him. On the 12th of September the party arrived in safety at Fort Chipewyan, having been absent one hundred and two days.

Taken in connection with Hearne's journey, this expedition was of great importance as establishing the fact of an Arctic sea of wide extent to the north of the continent. It seemed probable, also, that this sea formed its continuous boundary.

But the greater expedition of this intrepid fur-trader

THOMAS SIMPSON

From an engraving after a picture by G. P. Green

was yet to be undertaken. His object this time was to ascend the Peace River, which rises in the Rocky Mountains, and crossing these to penetrate to that unknown stream which he had sought in vain during his former journey. This river, he conjectured, must communicate with the ocean; and finding it, he must be borne along to the Pacific.

The explorer set out, accordingly, from Fort Chipewyan on the 10th of October 1792, pushing on to the remotest trading post, where he spent the winter in a traffic for furs with the Beaver and Rocky Indians. When he had despatched six canoes to Chipewyan with the cargo he had collected, he engaged hunters and interpreters, built a huge canoe, and set out for the Pacific. This canoe, it may be mentioned, was twenty-five feet long within, exclusive of the curves of stem and stern, twenty-six inches hold and four feet nine inches beam. At the same time it was so light that two men could carry it three or four miles, if necessity arose, without stopping to rest. In such a slender craft they not only stowed away their provisions, presents, arms, ammunition, and baggage to the weight of three thousand pounds, but found room for Mackenzie, seven white companions, and two Indians. Up to the 21st of May the party encountered a series of such difficulties and hardships that all save the leader himself was disheartened at the prospect. The river being broken by frequent cascades and dangerous

Mackenzie sets out for the Pacific.

rapids, it was very often necessary to carry the canoe and baggage until the voyage could be resumed in safety; and on their nearer approach to the Rocky Mountains the stream, hemmed in between stupendous rocks, presented a continuance of fearful torrents and huge cataracts. The party began to murmur audibly; and at last progress came to a standstill. In truth, there was some reason for this irresolution; further progress by water was impossible, and they could only advance over a mountain whose sides were broken by sharp, jagged rocks and thickly covered with wood. Mackenzie despatched a reconnoitring party, with orders to ascend the mountain and proceed in a straight course from its summit, keeping the line of the river until they could ascertain if it was practicable to resume navigation.

While this party was gone on its quest, the canoe was repaired, and Mackenzie busied himself in taking an altitude which showed the latitude to be 56° 8′. By sunset the scouts had severally returned, each having taken different routes. They had penetrated through thick woods, ascended hills and dived into valleys, passed the rapids, and agreed that though the difficulties by land were appalling this was the only practicable course. Unattractive as was the prospect, the spirits of the party rose as night closed in. Their troubles were forgotten in a repast of wild rice sweetened with sugar; the usual evening regale of rum renewed their courage, and followed by a night's rest, they

entered upon the journey next day with cheerfulness and vigour.

It is not to the purpose here to relate all that befell Mackenzie on this memorable voyage, but after many vicissitudes, towards the close of June he reached the spot where the party were to strike off across the country.

"We carried on our back," says Mackenzie, "four bags and a half of pemmican, weighing from eighty-five to ninety-five pounds each, a case with the instruments, a parcel of goods for presents weighing ninety pounds, and a parcel containing ammunition of the same weight; each of the Canadians had a burden of about ninety pounds, with a gun and ammunition, whilst the Indians had about forty-five pounds' weight of pemmican, besides their gun—an obligation with which, owing to their having been treated with too much indulgence, they expressed themselves much dissatisfied. My own load, and that of Mr. Mackay, consisted of twenty-two pounds of pemmican, some rice, sugar, and other small articles, amounting to about seventy pounds, besides our arms and ammunition. The tube of my telescope was also slung across my shoulder, and owing to the low state of our provisions, it was determined that we should content ourselves with two meals a day."

Journey in the mountain.

About the middle of July Mackenzie encountered a chief who had, ten years before, in a voyage by sea, met with two large vessels full of white men, the first

he had ever seen and by whom he was kindly received. The explorer very plausibly conjectured that these were the ships of Captain Cook. Thus the names of two of the world's great travellers are by that episode conjoined.

The navigation of the river, although interrupted by rapids and cascades, was continued until the 23rd, when the party reached its mouth. Here the river was found to discharge itself by various smaller channels into the Pacific.

The memorable journey was now finished, and its purpose completed. In large characters, upon the surface of a rock under whose shelter the party had slept, their leader painted this simple memorial—

"Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada by land the 22nd of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

Such was the inscription written with vermilion, at which, doubtless, the simple aboriginal tribes came to marvel before it was washed away by the elements. But its purport was conveyed to England in another and more abiding medium, which yet will not outlast the memory of the achievement. Mackenzie and his followers had paved the way; almost despite itself the Company must take possession before long of its own, although much had arisen which rendered the task less easy than if it had been undertaken immediately upon the conquest, thirty years before.

The news of Mackenzie's journeys considerably per-

turbed the Honourable Adventurers and undeniably diminished their prestige. It must not be supposed that the Company did not wish to pursue discovery and so procure a knowledge of the vast unknown regions which appertained to it under the charter; it was for a long time impracticable. In 1785 it had sent out orders to continue the exploration of the west, begun by Hearne. Servants had been despatched in accordance with these instructions, but either courage, or endurance, had failed them, and they returned to Cumberland House without accomplishing anything of note. For the five or six years ensuing, the reports of the meetings of the Company are sufficient testimony to the desire of the members to take an active part in seeking trade with distant tribes in their own country. But to effect this, men were necessary; and men of the required character were not immediately forthcoming. It was not till 1791 that, after an animated correspondence with the Colonial Office, a person was suggested for the enterprise who seemed to possess the indispensable qualities. This was Turner, who sought a career as an astronomer, and with him went Ross, one of the Company's clerks. Both were badly furnished for an expedition of this kind, and taking counsel among themselves, came to the conclusion that as they had to make their way through parts unknown to the Hudson's Bay servants, it would be wise to seek the assistance of the North-Westers as well. From Alexander

Turner's exploration.

Mackenzie, Turner obtained a letter to the factor in charge of Fort Chipewyan instructing him to offer the explorers every facility and courtesy; and indeed so well were Turner and his companion treated at this post that they passed the entire winter there. The result of this surveying expedition went to show that Lake Athabasca, instead of being situated in proximity to the Pacific, was really distant nearly a thousand miles.

There were more men useful for the work in hand if the Company had only availed themselves of them. At the very moment when Mackenzie was making his voyages, a youth was finishing his education at Charterhouse who had all the cleverness, force, and intrepidity for the task that it was desirable to accomplish. His name was David Thompson. The time having arrived when this youth should choose a career, his inclination turned to travel in the unknown quarters of the globe, and hoping that adventure of some sort would transpire for him in the north-west of the New World, he signed as one of the clerks of the Hudson's Bay Company, and set sail in 1794 for Fort Churchill. Arriving here, he found himself "cribb'd, cabin'd, and confin'd." Governor Colen and himself were mutually little to their liking; still less were they of the same mind, Thompson having an ardent, energetic temperament, and was with difficulty controlled. Yet during the summer of 1795, by reason of continuous pleadings, he obtained permission to set out on a tour to the west,

and with an escort of one white clerk, an Irishman, and two Indians, he travelled to Athabasca, surveying the country as he went along.

On his return from Athabasca, Thompson's term of service having expired, he was encouraged to apply for employment with the Northmen. They desired to learn the position of their trading houses, chiefly with respect to the 49th parallel of latitude, which had become, since the treaty of 1792 with America, the boundary line between the possessions of the two countries. For several years Thompson continued in the service of the Company's rivals, surveying a considerable territory and drawing up charts and maps, which were sent to the partners and afterwards found a lodgment at Fort William.[1]

David Thompson.

After Thompson came Simon Fraser and John Stewart, the names of both of whom are perpetuated in the rivers bearing their names to-day. Fraser is described by one of his associates as "an illiterate, illbred, fault-finding man, of jealous disposition, but

[1] Of David Thompson we get a portrait from Mr. H. H. Bancroft. He was of an entirely different order of man from the orthodox fur-trader. Tall and fine-looking, with sandy complexion, with large features, deep-set studious eyes, high forehead and broad shoulders, the intellectual was set upon the physical. His deeds have never been trumpeted as have those of some of the others; but in the westward explorations of the North-West Company, no man performed more valuable service or estimated his achievements more modestly. Unhappily his last days were not as pleasant as fell to the lot of some of the worn-out members of the Company. He retired, almost blind, to Lachine House, once the headquarters of the Company, where he was met with in 1831 in a very decrepit condition.

ambitious and energetic, with considerable conscience, and in the main holding to honest convictions."

Both these men bore a chief share in establishing those trading posts on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, which were afterwards and are still, in most instances, associated with the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

[1] The intrepid pioneer, John Stewart, was an uncle of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the present Governor of the Company.

CHAPTER XXVIII

1787–1808

Captain Vancouver—La Pérouse in the Pacific—The Straits of Anian—A Fantastic Episode—Russian Hunters and Traders—The Russian Company—Dissensions amongst the Northmen—They send the Beaver to Hudson's Bay—The Scheme of Mackenzie a Failure—A ferocious Spirit fostered—Abandoned characters—A series of Outrages—The affair at Bad Lake.

When Mackenzie, in July 1793, reached the Pacific by land from the east, he had been preceded by sea only three years by Captain George Vancouver, the discoverer of the British Columbian coast. In this same year Gray, sailing from Boston in 1790, entered the Oregon River farther south. But the title of Muscovy to the northern coasts had already been made good by several Russians since Bering's time, and the Company's charter secured to them the lands drained by the Fraser, Mackenzie, and Peace rivers to the west.

So little, however, was the Russian title recognised, when the French admiral and explorer, La Pérouse, with the frigates *Boussole* and *Astrolabe*, stopped on this coast in 1787, that that doughty destroyer of York and Prince of Wales' Forts did not hesitate to consider the

friendly harbour in latitude 58° 36′ as open to permanent occupation. Describing this harbour, which he named Port des François, he said that nature seemed to have created at this extremity of the world a port like that of Toulon, but vaster in plan and accommodation; and then, imagining himself to be the discoverer, proceeds to describe Juneau situate thirty-three leagues north-west of Remédios, the limit of Spanish navigation, about two hundred and eighty-four leagues from Nootka, and one hundred leagues from Prince William Sound. The admiral records his judgment that if the French Ministry had any project of a factory on this coast no nation could have the slightest right to oppose it. Thus was Russia to be coolly dislodged by the French!

La Pérouse in the Pacific.

There is now little doubt but that the Company, judging by its declarations in committee some years afterwards, would have had something to say in the matter. But La Pérouse and his frigates sailed farther on in their voyage, and never returned to France. Their fate for a generation remained unknown, until their wrecked hulls were accidentally found on a desert island in the South Pacific. The unfinished journal of this zealous admiral had, however, in the meantime been sent by him overland by way of Kamschatka and Siberia to France, where it was published by decree of the National Assembly, thus making known his supposed discovery and his aspirations.

Spain also had fulfilled the rôle of claimant. In

1775 a navigator, Bodega, seeking new opportunities to plant the Spanish flag, reached a parallel of 58° on this coast, not far from Sitka; but this supposed discovery was not followed by any immediate assertion of dominion. The universal aspiration of Spain had embraced this whole region at a much earlier day, and shortly after the return of Bodega another enterprise was equipped to verify the larger claim, being nothing less than the original title as discoverer of the straits between America and Asia, and of the conterminous continent bearing the name of Anian. Indeed, a Spanish document appeared, which caused a considerable fluttering of hearts amongst geographers, entitled "A Relation of the Discovery of the Strait of Anian made by me, Captain Lorenzo Ferren Maldonado," purporting to be written at the time, although it did not see the light until 1781, when it immediately became the subject of a memoir before the French Academy. This narrative of Maldonado has long since taken its place, figuratively, on the bookshelves of scholars, side by side with that of the celebrated Munchausen.

Spanish Claims.

The whole fantastic episode of Anian's Straits is worthy of mention in a history of the Company and its lands. There is no doubt of the existence of early maps bearing straits of that name to the north. On an interesting map by Zoltieri, bearing the date of 1566, without latitude or longitude, the western coast of the continent is here delineated with straits separating

it from Asia, not unlike Bering's Straits in outline and with the name in Italian, Stretto di Anian; and towards the south the coast possesses a certain conformity to that which we now know. Below the straits is an indentation corresponding to Bristol Bay; then a peninsula somewhat broader than Alaska, which is continued in an elbow of the coast; lower down appear three islands, not unlike Sitka, Queen Charlotte, and Vancouver; and lastly, to the south appears the peninsula of Lower California. After a time maps began to record the Straits of Anian; but the substantial conformity of the early delineation with the reality has always been somewhat of a mystery.[1]

The foundation of the story of Anian is said to lie in the voyage of the Portuguese navigator, Caspar de Cortereal, in 1500–1505, who, on reaching Hudson's Bay in quest of a passage to India, imagined he had found it, naming his discovery "in honour of two brothers who accompanied him."

In the latter part of the eighteenth century Russian hunters and traders from Okhotsk were extending their expedition from the north-east coast of Siberia to the north-west coast of North America. The first attempt at permanent settlement was due to three Russian traders, Shelekoff and the two Golikoffs, who fitted out two or three vessels to be sent to "the land of Alaska, also called America;

Russians on the west coast.

[1] I have not seen either Admiral Markham's or Mr. Harrisse's explanation.

to islands known or unknown, for the purpose of trading in furs; of exploring the country and entering into relations with the inhabitants." Their first expedition started in 1781, and the first settlement was founded on the Island of Kodiak. The authority of the Russian Government was thus established on this and the adjacent islands. In 1790 Shelekoff, then residing in Irkoutsk, sent out a merchant named Baranoff to govern the new colony.[1] A Russian Government expedition started from Okhotsk in 1790, under the command of Captain Billings, an Englishman in the Russian service, and to Captain Taryteheff, one of the members, is due important researches on the hydrography and ethnology of these countries.

Thus the knowledge that they were being pressed in on opposite sides by the Canadian traders on the south and east, and by Russians on the north and west, reached the Company at the same time. As a matter of fact, the knowledge of Baranoff's enterprise and the energy with which it was being prosecuted did not come before the committee until October 1794; and it was in that very month that the report of Mackenzie's journey reached them.

[1] To exhibit anew the exaggeration which commonly attends the acquisition of new possessions, I may observe that Shelekoff reported that he had subjected to the crown of Russia, "fifty thousand men in the Island of Kodiak alone." But Lisiansky, who took a prominent part in the Russian Company, remarks, in 1805, that "the population of the island, when compared with its size, is very small." After the "minutest research" at that time he found it amounted to only four thousand souls.

The next few years were devoted to devising and considering schemes to counteract these two growing competitors—to oppose the further progress of the Russians on the one hand, and to combat the North-Westers on the other.

For twenty-seven years Baranoff continued to be the controlling mind of the new Russian trading enterprise. Shelekoff died in 1795; his widow continued the business, and upon combining with the Milnikoff Company it increased gradually in wealth. The charter of these joint enterprises, to which the name of the Russian-American Fur Company was given, was signed in August 1798, and confirmed at St. Petersburg in 1799. That year witnessed the settlement of New Archangel, on the island of Sitka.

From 1787 to 1817, for only a portion of which time the Russian Company existed, the Unalaska district yielded upwards of 2,500,000 seal skins alone. The number of other skins reported at times was prodigious.

The consequences of this increased output were not, however, felt in the fur-markets at Leipsic. Europe was convulsed by war, and British goods were at the mercy of a blockade. The furs, therefore, accumulated for several years in the stores of the Hudson's Bay Company without finding a mart.

But the time had not come for the Company to actively assert itself in opposition to the Russians.

It was paying dearly now for its short-sightedness

in not availing itself of the opportunities afforded by the Conquest of Canada to penetrate into its chartered domain. In the second year of the century the Honourable Adventurers had been obliged to borrow £20,000 from the Bank of England, hoping that the cessation of war in Europe and the quarrels of the rival Montreal traders in North America would permit the Company to regain the advantage it had lost.

For in the autumn of 1798 the Company had received advices that its prosperous Canadian rival had taken a new step in the conduct of its affairs.

Difficulties and dissensions had begun to breed in the ranks of the Northmen. A few disaffected spirits spoke of secession and carried their intentions into effect, but the stronger partners were reluctant to break up an alliance which had proved so prosperous. Nevertheless in the closing year but one of the century, the situation became intolerable, and when the partners met, as was their custom at the Grand Portage, Mackenzie bluntly told his associates that he had resolved to quit the company. He was led to this decision by a personal quarrel between himself and Simon McTavish, the chief of the North-West company. Opposing factions sprang into being, attaching themselves respectively to Mackenzie or McTavish, the last named strongly resenting the way in which he was treated at the annual meeting by the partisans of Mackenzie. Each now determined to take his course thenceforward

Rival factions in the North-West company.

untrammelled by the other. Mackenzie went to England, where he published an account of his travels in the North-West and obtained the honour of knighthood. In 1801 he returned to Canada. Immediately friends flocked about him, and there saw the light a new organisation, officially entitled the New North-West company, or Sir Alexander Mackenzie & Co., but more popularly as the X. Y. Co. The two rival Canadian associations now put forth all their strength to establish fresh commerce in the unknown or unfrequented regions. One of the old North-West employees, Livingston, who had already, in 1796, established a post nearly 100 miles north of Slave Lake, undertook to carry the trade still farther north. But this he was never destined to accomplish. A few days out on this journey he was confronted by the aborigines, who slew him and his companions. An expedition to the Bow River, however, was more successful, and in the midst of many hostile Indians a trading-post was established there. Other proofs of enterprise on the part of McTavish and his associates were not wanting.

The dissensions between the two companies so far do not appear to have had a prejudicial effect on the traffic, for on the 30th October 1802, Lieutenant Governor Milnes, in a despatch to Lord Hobart,[1] gives an account of the flourishing state of the fur-trade, which so far, he says, from diminishing, appears to increase. New tracts of country had been visited by

[1] In the Canadian Archives.

the merchants employed in this traffic, which had furnished new sources of supply, a large proportion of the furs taken in the North-West being brought to Quebec for shipment.[1]

But, perhaps, a policy the most daring was pursued with regard to the Hudson's Bay Company. It was not expected that either McTavish and his allies, or the X. Y. concern would long be content to forego the glory and profit attendant upon warfare at close quarters with the chartered Company.

"What is there in their charter," they asked, "which gives them benefits we cannot enjoy?"

They provided for a most effectual demonstration that there was nothing. In the spring of 1803, they sent the *Beaver*, a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons,

[1] The tables enclosed in the despatch show, first, the names and numbers of the posts occupied in the Indian country (exclusive of the King's posts), the number of partners, clerks, and men employed, the latitude and longitude of each post being also given. The grand total shows that there were 117 posts, 20 partners, 161 clerks and interpreters, 877 common men, in all of a permanent staff 1058 men, thus divided: Ninety-five in the territory of the United States from the south side of Lake Superior to the division of the waters falling into the Mississippi on the one side and Hudson's Bay on the other; seventy-six on the waters falling into the St. Lawrence from the Kaministiquia, and also from the St. Maurice; six hundred and thirty on the waters falling into Hudson's Bay, and two hundred and fifty-seven on the waters falling into the North Sea by the Mackenzie River. Besides these there were eighty or one hundred Canadians and Iroquois hunters, not servants, ranging free over the country and about five hundred and forty men employed in canoes on the Ottawa River. The average duties paid annually on landing in Britain amounted to upwards of £22,000 sterling and the price paid for the furs exported from Quebec in 1801, at the London sales, was £371,139, 11s. 4d.

to Hudson's Bay, with instructions to exploit commerce under the very guns of the Company's forts. Hardly had the *Beaver* got under way than an overland expedition was sent by the old French trading route of Lakes St. Jean and Mistassini, to the same quarter. The result was the construction of two posts, one on Charlton Island, and the other at the mouth of Moose River.

The Northmen at Hudson's Bay.

The astonishment of the Company's servants may be imagined when, upon looking out one fine morning, they beheld a band of swarthy half-breeds, captained by Orkneymen, rearing premises adjacent to their own, and bidding defiance to the ancient rights of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company. They were told by their superiors not to be alarmed; the scheme of their rivals would not succeed any more than had those of the Quebec companies who a century before had sought to penetrate overland to the Bay. The Company could always undersell them then; it could now, and did. The confidence of the factors was justified, and the Indians merely smiled at the Northmen and their goods, bidding them return to their country, or betake themselves to the west, where the tribes were ignorant and knew not the value of things. So, after a season or two, the North-West concern abandoned Moose River and Charlton Island, and sought other and more fruitful fields in the Uplands.

Mackenzie was again in London, actively engaged in promoting a scheme of his own. He sought to induce the British Government to compel the Hudson's

Bay Company to grant licenses to a company of British merchants, to be established in London under the name of "The Fishery and Fur Company," which company, for the purpose of combining the Fishery in the Pacific with the fur-trade of the interior, from the east to the west coasts of the Continent of North America would "equip whalers in England, and by means of the establishments already made and in activity at Montreal on the east and advanced posts and trading houses in the interior towards the west coast to which they might extend it, and where other establishments to be made at King George Sound, Nootka Island, under the protection of the Supreme Government and on the River Columbia and at Sea Otter Harbour under the protection of the subordinate Government of these places, would open and establish a commercial communication through the Continent of North America between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans to the incalculable advantage and furtherance both of the Pacific Fishery of America and American Fur Trade of Great Britain, in part directly and in part indirectly, through the channel of the possessions and factories of the East India Company in China," &c., "it being perfectly understood that none of these maritime or inland establishments shall be made on territory in the possession of any other European nation, nor within the limits of the United States of North America or of the Hudson's Bay Company." This pretentious enterprise, however, failed to enlist the support of the Government.

The Fishery and Fur Company.

The death of McTavish, in 1804, brought about a reunion of the two rival factions, and the North-West company became stronger than ever. In imitation of the chartered Company they established several of their members in London as agents, to purchase the necessary merchandise and superintend its safe shipment, besides attending to the fur imports and other regular business of the concern.

Coalition of the North-West and X. Y. companies.

Upon the coalition of the old North-West and the X. Y. concerns, and the consequent suppression of all private adventurers in Canada, the only rival of the Northmen in the Uplands was the Hudson's Bay Company. It was alleged that thenceforward the ferocious spirit which had been fostered among the clerks and servants of the two companies by six years of continual violence was all directed against the Company. It was said that not only was a systematic plan formed for driving its traders out of all valuable beaver tracts, but that hopes were entertained of reducing the Company to so low an ebb as to necessitate their making over their chartered rights to their commercial rivals. With this intent, a series of aggressive acts was now begun and carried on against the servants of the Company.

The Hudson's Bay Company had witnessed the encroachment of the traders, first French, then English, as well as the establishment and growth of the North-West association, without taking any active steps to forcibly restrain them. Many years was the compe-

tition carried on without any violent breach of the peace on either side. Oftentimes, indeed, did the rival traders meet in the wilderness at a deserted camp, or at some remote portage, but they bore no personal enmity in their hearts. They shook hands, smoked, shared pemmican together, and parted—one with his beaver skins to the east, the other to the north—to Cumberland or York Factory. Doubtless the North-West concern at the beginning of the century possessed a powerful advantage in its system of profits and promotion, while the Company's servants, unstimulated by any hope of additional reward or certain advancement, was calculated to foster apathy rather than zeal.

It was claimed by the Company that the Northmen employed for their purposes men of the most abandoned character who, as Sir Alexander Mackenzie expressed it, "considered the command of their employer as binding on them, and however wrong or irregular the transaction, the responsibility rested with the principal who directed them." One of the first instances of collision occurred in the year 1800. In that year Frederick Schultz, a clerk of the old Company, commanded a post near Nepigon. Amongst his men was a young lad about nineteen years of age named Labau, who understood English, and had in the course of the preceding winter become intimate with the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, who occupied a post in the same locality. Labau was attracted to the Company's service, and when the traders on both sides

were preparing to leave their wintering ground, resolved to go down to York Factory.

Intelligence of this having reached Schultz, he sent his interpreter to order Labau to return to his duty, accompanied by a reminder that he was in debt to the North-West company. The young man responded by offering to remit the money he owed the company, but declared that he would not remain any longer in its service. This answer being reported to Schultz, he vehemently declared that "if the scoundrel would not come back willingly he would know what to do with him." The doughty Northman took his dagger, carefully whetted it, and having dressed himself in his best attire, went over to the Hudson's Bay post. Here he found Labau, and asked him in a furious tone whether he would come with him. The young man, being intimidated, faltered out an affirmative, but watching his opportunity sought to make his escape out of the room; but Schultz was too quick for him. He drew his dagger and aimed a blow which Labau tried in vain to avoid. He was stabbed in the loin, and expired the same evening. After this exploit, when Schultz returned to the assembly of the Northmen at the Grand Portage, he met with an indifferent reception, Labau having been rather popular amongst his fellow-servants. It was, therefore, not thought advisable to employ Schultz any longer in that quarter, although this was the only notice taken of the crime. The murderer came down in the canoes

Murder of Labau.

of the North-West concern to Montreal, where he remained for some months. He was subsequently employed by the concern in a different region, and after several years of such employment settled down undisturbed in Lower Canada.

There can be no doubt that much of the success of the Northmen was due to the indiscriminate manner in which they extirpated the animals in the country, destroying all without distinction, whether young or old, in season or out of season. The miserable natives, overawed by the numbers and arms of the strangers, and dreading the resentment of the Northmen, witnessed this destruction without daring to intervene, while yet complaining bitterly that their country was wasted as if it had been overrun by fire.

The Company had long recognised that the best season for hunting fur-bearing animals is the winter. The fur in summer is always of inferior quality; this, also, is the season when wild animals rear their young. For both these reasons it seemed desirable that the hunting should be suspended during the summer months, and this suspension was effectually brought about when all the best hunters, all the young and active men of the Indian tribes, were engaged in a distant excursion. There was consequently a material advantage in requiring them to leave their hunting grounds in summer, and come to the factories on the coast for a supply of European goods. While this was the practice, no furs were brought from home but those of prime quality,

and as the beaver and other valuable fur-bearing animals were protected from injury during the most critical time of the year, the breed was preserved, and the supply was plentiful. But when the traders came to the interior, there to remain throughout the year, the Indians were tempted to continue their hunts past the season. They were too improvident to abstain from killing the breeding animals or their young. The cub was destroyed with the full-grown beaver, and the consequence might readily have been foreseen. These valuable animals, formerly so numerous, rapidly approached the point of complete extermination. It was observed that the district in which they once abounded, and from which large supplies were formerly obtained, soon came to produce few or none.

In autumn, 1806, John Crear, a trader in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company (also on the establishment of Albany Factory), occupied a post at a place called Big Fall, near Lake Winnipeg. One evening a party of Northmen in two canoes, commanded by Alexander MacDonnell, then a clerk of the North-West company, arrived, and encamped at a short distance. On the following morning four of Crear's men set out for their fishing grounds, about a mile off, immediately after which MacDonnell came to the house with his men, and charging Crear with having traded furs with an Indian who was indebted to the North-West concern, insisted on these furs being given up to him. On Crear's refusal, MacDonnell's men

broke open the warehouse door. William Plowman, the only servant that remained with Crear, attempted to prevent them from entering; but one of the Canadians knocked him down, while another presented a gun at Crear himself. Although MacDonnell prevented him from firing, the Northman struck Crear in the eye with the butt end of his gun (which covered his face with blood) and felled him to the ground. MacDonnell himself stabbed Plowman in the arm with a dagger, inflicting upon him a dangerous wound. The Canadians then rifled the warehouse. The furs, being taken in summer, were of little value; but they carried off two bags of flour, a quantity of salt pork and beef, and some dried venison, and also took away a new canoe belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Collision at Big Fall.

In the following February MacDonnell sent one of his junior clerks with a party of men, who again attacked Crear's house, overpowered him, beat him and his men in the most brutal manner, and carried away a great number of valuable furs. They also obliged Crear to sign a paper acknowledging that he had given up the furs voluntarily, which they extorted with threats of instant death if he should refuse. It may be mentioned that MacDonnell had lately been promoted to the status of a partner in the North-West concern.

In the year 1806, one Fidler was sent with a party of eighteen men from Churchill Factory, to establish a trading-post at Isle à la Crosse, near the borders of

the Athabasca country, but within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. He remained there for two years, sending a detachment of his people to Green Lake and Beaver River. During the first winter he had some success, but afterwards he was effectually obstructed. On many former occasions the officers of the Company had attempted to establish a trade in this place, which is in the centre of a country abounding in beaver, but they had always been obliged to renounce the attempt. The methods used with Fidler may explain the causes of this failure.

John MacDonnell had been Fidler's competitor during the early part of the winter, but (not being inclined to set all principles of law and justice at defiance) was removed and relieved, first by Robert Henry, and then by John Duncan Campbell. The North-West concern having been established for many years at Isle à la Crosse without any competition, had reduced them to such abject submission that the very sight of a Canadian was sufficient to inspire them with terror. In order that this salutary awe might suffer no diminution, the post at Isle à la Crosse was reinforced with an extra number of Canadians, so that the natives might be effectually prevented from holding any intercourse with the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that the appearance of so very superior a force, ready to overwhelm and destroy him, might deter Fidler from any attempt to protect his customers. A watch-house was built close to his door, so that no

Indian could enter unobserved; a party of professed bullies were stationed here, and employed not only to watch the natives, but to give every possible annoyance, night and day, to the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company. Their firewood was stolen, they were perpetually obstructed in hunting for provisions, the produce of their garden was destroyed, their fishing lines taken away in the night time, and their nets, on which they chiefly relied for subsistence, cut to pieces. The ruffians who were posted to watch Fidler, proceeded from one act of violence to another, and in proportion as they found themselves feebly resisted they grew bolder, and at length issued a formal mandate that not one of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company should stir out of their house, and followed up this with such examples of severity that Fidler's men refused to remain at the post. They were compelled to leave it, and the Canadians immediately burnt his house to the ground.[1]

A trader, William Corrigal, in the service of the Company, was stationed, in May 1806, with a few men at a place called Bad Lake, not far from Albany Factory. Near this post was another occupied by a much larger number of men in charge of a partner in the North-West concern named Haldane. Five of the Canadians in his service watching their opportunity broke into Corrigal's house about midnight when he

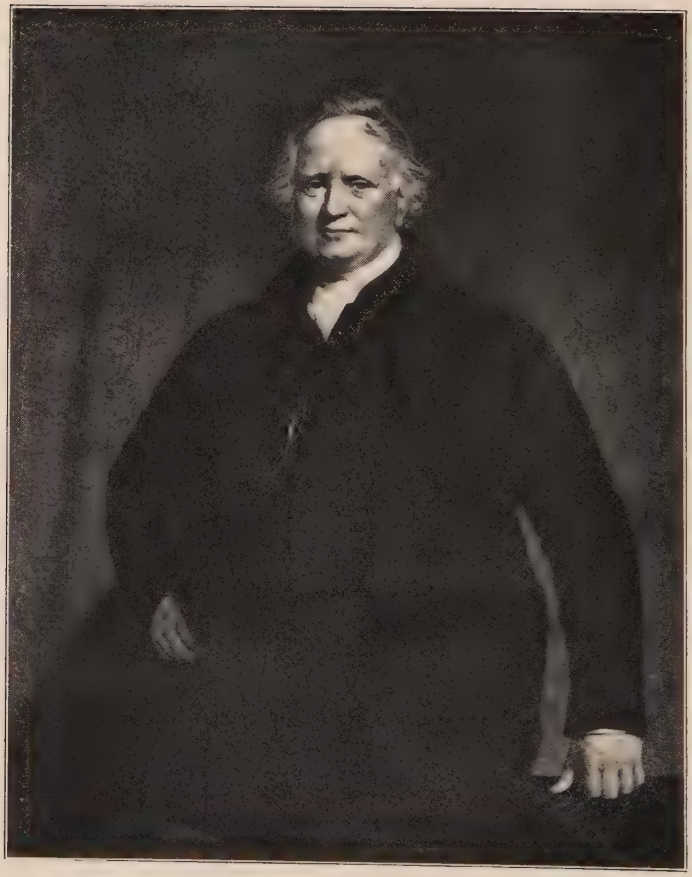
[1] Lord Selkirk afterwards made use of the reports of these outrages in his published case against the North-West company.

and his men were in bed. The ruffians immediately secured all the loaded guns and pistols they could find, and one of them seizing the Company's trader and presenting a pistol at his breast swore to shoot him if he made any resistance. In the meantime the others rifled the storehouse and took away furs to the number of 480 beaver. On their departure Corrigal dressed himself and went immediately to Haldane, whom he found up, and fully attired, to complain of the conduct of his servants, and to demand that the stolen property be restored. The answer of the Northman was that, "He had come to that country for furs, and furs he was determined to have."

The robbery at Bad Lake.

The robbers were permitted to carry away the stolen peltries to the Grand Portage where they were sold, and formed part of the returns of the North-West concern that year. A robbery of the same character took place at Red Lake a little later in the year. This trading house was also under the charge of Corrigal, and was forcibly entered by eight of the Northmen, armed with pistols and knives; under threats to murder the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company they carried off furs to the amount of fifty beaver. Not long after this they forcibly broke open the same warehouse and robbed it of a large quantity of cloth, brandy, tobacco, and ammunition.

In 1808 John Spence, a factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, commanded a post fitted out from



SIR J. H. PELLY

From a mezzotint

Churchill Factory at Reindeer Lake, in the neighbourhood of which there was a station of the North-West company commanded by John Duncan Campbell, one of the partners. In the course of the spring, William Linklater, in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, was sent out to meet some Indians, from whom he traded a parcel of valuable furs. He was bringing them home on a hand sleigh, and was at no great distance from the house, when Campbell came out with a number of men, stopped him, demanded the furs, and on being refused drew a dagger, with which he cut the traces of the sledge, while at the same time one of his men took hold of Linklater's shoes, tripped him up, and made him fall on the ice. The sledge of furs was then hauled away to the North-West concern's house. Campbell offered to send other furs in exchange for those which he had thus robbed; but they were of very inferior value, and Spence refused the compromise. The furs were carried away, and no compensation was ever made.

Violence and robbery by the North-West company.

Elsewhere the battle continued to be waged hotly; aud on more than one occasion the men from the Hudson's Bay post coming out to assist their fellow-servants, were attacked by superior numbers of the Canadians, and beaten off with violence and bloodshed. At home and abroad it was clear that the Company had reached a crisis in its affairs.

CHAPTER XXIX

1808–1812

Crisis in the Company's affairs—No dividend paid—Petition to Lords of the Treasury—Factors allowed a share in the Trade—Canada Jurisdiction Act—The killing of MacDonnell—Mowat's ill-treatment—Lord Selkirk—His scheme laid before the Company—A protest by Thwaytes and others—The project carried—Emigrants sent out to Red River—Northmen stirred to reprisal.

England was again at war with France. Napoleon had placed an embargo on English commerce, and to the uttermost corner of Europe this measure was felt. Tons of the most costly furs, for which there was no market, lay heaped in the Company's warehouse. The greatest difficulty was experienced in procuring servants, especially seamen, and when these were induced to embark for service in the Bay, they were as often as not seized by a press-gang; shares began to decline in value; numerous partners were selling out their interests. A strong man was required at the head of affairs.

In 1808 no dividend was paid, chiefly as the result of the non-exportation of the Company's furs to the Continent of Europe. There were the accumulations of furs imported during 1806, 1807, and 1808 lying in the warehouse without prospect of sale.

The pressure still continued, and at last, in 1809, the Company was driven to petition the Chancellor of the Exchequer for transmission to the Lords of the Treasury, setting forth the Company's position and its claims on the nation.

"Accumulated difficulties," it said, "have pressed hardly on the Company, and we ask assistance to maintain a colony that till now has found within itself resources to withstand the pressure of all former wars, and to continue those outfits on which six hundred Europeans and their families and some thousands of native Indians depend for their very existence.

The Company in difficulties.

"We assure your worships that it was not until all those resources were exhausted that we came to the resolution of making the present application."

The petition recited that after having received their charter the Company had colonised such parts of newly granted territories as appeared most convenient for carrying on their commerce with the natives. This commerce "consisted in the barter of British manufactures for the furs of animals killed by the different tribes of Indians who were within reach of factories, and gradually extended itself till, as at the present moment, the manufactures of Great Britain are borne by the traders of Hudson's Bay over the face of the whole country from Lake Superior to the Athabasca.

"The trade is at present pursued by the export

of furs, gunpowder, shot, woollens, hardware, and other articles, which together with large supplies of provisions for the factories, constitute an annual outfit consisting wholly of British manufactures and British produce of from £40,000 to £50,000, in return for which we receive the furs of bears, wolves, foxes, otters, martens, beaver, and other animals, together with some oil and articles of inferior value. The cargoes are sold at public sale. The beaver and some few inferior furs, together with the oil, are bought for home consumption and sell for about £30,000, but the fine furs were, till after the sale of 1806, bought by the fur merchants for the fairs of Frankfort and of Leipsic, for Petersburg, and before the present war, for France. Since that year there has not been a fur sold for exportation, and as a proof to your worships that the deficiency of buyers did not arise from our holding back for a higher market, we sold in 1806 for seven shillings per skin furs that in the more quiet state of Europe in 1804 had brought us 20s. 3d., and which for years previous to that time had sold for a similar price; and other depreciation pervaded in about the same proportion the whole of those furs calculated only for the foreign market, and in some instances furs were sold for a less price than the duties we had paid for them.

"Since that period no orders have been received from abroad, and our warehouses are filled with the most valuable productions of three years' import, that

if sold at the prices of those years before the closing of the ports on the Continent would have produced us at least £150,000.

"It may be objected to us, that we were improvident in pursuing under such circumstances a trade which must so inevitably tend to ruin. But a certainty that a considerable quantity of furs found their way to New York, and an earnest zeal for the preservation of trade which by the conduct of the Hudson's Bay Company had been secured to this country for a century and a half, prompted us to every exertion to maintain the footing we had established; and the annually increasing amount of our trade gave us just grounds to look forward with confidence to the opening of the northern ports of Europe as the period when all our difficulties would cease: an event which, anterior to the battles of Austerlitz or of Jena, was looked for with the most sanguine expectation.

"Above all were we impelled by the strongest motives to continue these supplies which were necessary for the subsistence of six hundred European servants, their wives and children, dispersed over a vast and extended field of the North American continent, and who would not be brought to Europe under a period of three years, as well as those upon whom the many Indian nations now depend for their very existence.

"The nations of hunters taught for one hundred and fifty years the use of firearms, could no more resort with certainty to the bow or the javelin for

their daily subsistence. Accustomed to the hatchet of Great Britain, they could ill adopt the rude sharpened stone to the purposes of building, and until years of misery and of famine had extirpated the present race, they could not recur to the simple arts by which they supported themselves before the introduction of British manufactures. As the outfits of the Hudson's Bay Company consist principally of articles which long habit have taught them now to consider of first necessity, if we withhold these outfits, we leave them destitute of their only means of support. The truth of this observation had a melancholy proof in the year 1782, when from the attack made upon the settlements by La Pérouse, and the consequent failure of our supplies, many of the Indians were found starved to death.

"It was not only from the firm conviction that we felt of the necessity of European manufactures to the present existence of whole nations of North American Indians that we considered ourselves bound by the most powerful ties to exert every effort in their favour, but also that we might continue to them those advantages which would result to their religious as well as civil welfare from the progressive improvements, and a gradual system of civilisation and education which we have introduced throughout the country; improvements which are now diffusing the comforts of civilised life, as well as the blessings of the Christian faith to thousands of uninstructed

Petition of the Company.

Indians, and would in their completion, we can confidently assert, have tended to the future cultivation of lands, which from experiments we find capable of growing most of the grains of Northern Europe, and from their climate adapted to the culture of hemp and flax, and from the labour of those families who would have been induced to settle at our factories, might soon have brought to this country the produce of the boundless forests of pine that spread themselves over almost all the southern parts of our possessions.

"To realise these not visionary schemes, but sure and certain plans, founded upon the progressive civilisation of the natives, were objects not to be given up without the most urgent necessity; and the hope that the ruler of the French Empire could not for ever shut out our trade from Europe, induced us to resort to every means within our power to preserve the advantages resulting to ourselves, and to the Indians, and to the British nation.

"We have exhausted those funds which we set apart for their completion; we have pledged our credit till we feel, as honest men, that upon the present uncertainty we can pledge it no farther, and we throw ourselves upon your worships' wisdom to afford us that temporary assistance which we cannot ask at any other hands.

"Were we to resort to the early history of our settlements, we might lay the foundations of just claims upon the public to assist our present wants.

We could show instances of most destructive attacks by the French upon our factories. Our forts and military works, mounted with a numerous and expensive artillery for the defence of the colony against their future operations, were destroyed and the guns ruined. And particularly was a most grievous loss occasioned to us by the predatory attack of La Pérouse about the conclusion of the American War, which caused the distress to which we have above alluded.

"Against these pressures when our trade flourished we were able to hold up, and we found within ourselves those resources which defeated the enemy's views and continued to Great Britain the trade we had established.

"And it is not until pressed to our last resort [1] that we ask of your Lordships that assistance with which we may confidently hope to preserve our trade until the Continent may be again opened, when we shall be delivered from those difficulties under which we are now sinking."

This extraordinary petition was in brief the history of the Company. It was signed by Wm. Mainwaring, Governor; Joseph Berens, Deputy-Governor; George Hyde Wollaston, Thomas Neave, Job Mathew Raikes, Thomas Langley, John Henry Pelly, Benjamin Harrison, and John Webb.

[1] In April the Adventurers had petitioned the King in Council to reduce duties on furs to one-half, or trade must suffer extinction. No profit was derivable, they said, on marten, wolf, bear, wolverine, and fisher-skins.

To so eloquent an appeal the Committee of Privy Council for Trade, Whitehall, replied in the following February, that "the memorial of the Hudson's Bay Company contained no proposition on which the Lords of this Council could offer any opinion to the Lords of Treasury."

As their petition was denied, the Company now boldly prepared a request for a loan of £60,000. It asked that time be extended for paying the duties on furs imported until the continental market re-opened. To this request an answer was returned, allowing twelve months storage of furs free of duty, and promising drawbacks as if storage had been for one year only, but stating that there were no funds out of which a loan could be made without special authority of Parliament.

Small Government assistance.

It was clear that the Company was in very low water, that some novel and salutary policy was required. By way of a beginning, barter was abolished as a basis of trade, in favour of money payments. At the same time the Adventurers took a leaf out of the book of the North-West company, and new regulations, comprising thirty-five articles, were enacted in the early months of 1810 for carrying on the business in Hudson's Bay.

The principle of allowing to their chief officers a considerable participation in the profits of their trade was admitted. It was found absolutely necessary to adopt some step of this sort; nothing short of such

a measure could be sufficient to stem the torrent of aggression with which they had been assailed by the North-West company; and their absolute ruin must have ensued if some effectual means had not been taken, not only to rectify some of the abuses which had crept in under the former system, but also to rouse their officers to a more effectual resistance of the lawless violence practised against them.

The total lack of jurisdiction in the Indian Country, as the territory which was the scene of the operations of the fur-traders was called, permitted crime to go unpunished, and numerous representations were made in respect to the evils of this practical immunity from punishment. In Sir Alexander Mackenzie's letter of the 25th of October 1802, he says that in view of the improbability of the two companies amalgamating, a jurisdiction should be established as speedily as possible to prevent the contending fur companies from abusing the power either might possess, so as to secure to each the fruits of fair, honest, and industrious exertion. It would also, he believed, tend to put a stop to the increasing animosity between the two companies. Governor Richardson of the Hudson's Bay Company also pressed for the establishment of a competent jurisdiction, and instanced the case of one of the clerks in his Company who had killed a clerk of the other in defending the property in his care. The young man had come to Montreal to be tried, but there being no jurisdiction there for such trial, "he remains in the

deplorable predicament that neither his innocence nor his guilt can be legally ascertained." He also proposed that a military post should be established at Thunder Bay, on Lake Superior, as an additional means of securing peace.

Repeatedly had the Grand Juries of Quebec and Montreal called attention to this want of jurisdiction. In one report the number of people from the Canadas, chiefly from Lower Canada, was urged as one reason for establishing in the Indian country a court of competent jurisdiction for the trial of offences committed in these territories, including Hudson's Bay.

"The very heavy expense," observes the report, "incident to the conveyance of offenders from the Territory of Hudson's Bay to England, with the necessary witnesses on both sides, and the cost of prosecution and defence, must generally operate, either to prevent recourse to a tribunal across the ocean, and thereby stimulate to private retaliation and revenge, or where such course can or shall be had, the guilty may escape punishment, and the innocent be sacrificed from the distance of time and place of trial, the death or absence of witnesses, or other causes; and the mind cannot contemplate without horror the possible abuses to which such circumstances might give rise, as in the instance of a prosecutor coming from and at a remote day, when the accused may be destitute of pecuniary

Plea for establishment of jurisdiction.

means, and the exculpatory evidence may either be dead, removed, or be otherwise beyond his reach, who at all events (however innocent he may finally be found), will have undergone a long and painful confinement, far removed from his family and connections, and perhaps ruinous to every prospect he had in life."

Sir Robert Milnes strongly supported the representation of the Grand Jury, and added that "Under such circumstances every species of offence is to be apprehended, from Trespasses to Murder," and also that "the national character of the English will be debased among the Indians, and the numerous tribes of those people will in consequence thereof be more easily wrought upon by foreign emissaries employed by the enemies of Great Britain." [1]

In consequence of these representations, Lord Hobart promised that immediate steps should be taken to remedy the existing state of affairs. But Milnes became impatient for a decision, and writing in September 1803 to the Under-Secretary, he reminded him of the promise, the great increase and extent of the fur-trade rendering such an Act daily more necessary. The Act to give jurisdiction to the Courts of Upper and Lower Canada had, however, been assented to on the 11th of the preceding month.

The first case brought to trial under the Act became celebrated. In the autumn of 1809 William Corrigal was the trader at a Company's post near Eagle

[1] Canadian Archives.

Lake. On the 15th of September a party of North-Westers established an encampment about forty yards from the Company's post under one of their clerks, Aeneas MacDonnell. In the evening an Indian arrived in his canoe to trade with Corrigal, and to pay a debt which he owed him. As he was not able to defray the whole amount, Corrigal accepted the canoe in part payment. The Indian requested that it might be lent to him for a few days, which was agreed to; and the Indian spent the night at the post with his canoe. In the morning he received in advance some more merchandise, such as clothing for his family and ammunition for his winter hunt. When finally he departed, three of the Company's servants were sent down to the wharf with the canoe and the goods. On their way they were observed by a number of Northmen, including MacDonnell, who went immediately down to the lake, armed with a sword and accompanied by a voyageur named Adhemer, armed with a brace of pistols. Upon pretence that the unhappy Red man was indebted to the North-West company, they proceeded to seize and drag away the canoe and the merchandise to their own wharf. Corrigal observing this, commanded two of his men, James Tate and John Corrigal, to go into the water and prevent the seizure, and as they approached on this mission MacDonnell drew his sword and struck two blows at Tate's head. The latter was unarmed, and warded the blows with his wrist, which was

Canada Jurisdiction Act.

severely gashed. He then received another deep wound in the neck, which felled him to the ground. In the meantime Adhemer had seized John Corrigal (who was also unarmed), and presenting a cocked pistol at his head, swore that if he went near the canoe he would blow out his brains.

Several of the Company's servants who were near the spot, perceiving what was going on, and observing that the rest of MacDonnell's men were collecting with arms, ran up to their own house, which was only about forty or fifty yards from the lake, for weapons of defence. MacDonnell next attacked John Corrigal, who to escape him ran into the lake. Finding the water too deep, however, he was soon obliged to make a turn towards the shore. His pursuer wading after him, aimed a blow at him with his sword, cut his arm above the elbow and laid the bone bare. He followed this up with a tremendous blow at his head, which Robert Leask, one of the Company's servants, fortunately warded off with the paddle of his canoe, which was cut in two by the blow. The North-West leader in a fury now attacked another servant named Essen, aimed a blow at him with his sword, which, however, only struck his hat off. But in making his escape Essen fell into the water. Before he could recover himself another Canadian aimed a blow at his head with a heavy axe, which missed its aim, but dislocated his shoulder, so that he could make no use of his arm for over two months after this affray.

MacDonnell and Adhemer, the one with a drawn sword and the other with a cocked pistol, continued to pursue several other of the Company's servants towards the fort, when one of them, named John Mowat, whom MacDonnell had previously struck with his sword and was preparing to strike again, shot MacDonnell dead on the spot.

Killing of MacDonnell.

MacDonnell's body was carried away, and the parties separated, Corrigal fearing a further attack. On the 24th, a partner of the North-West company, named Haldane, arrived in a canoe with ten men, and on the following day another partner, McLellan, also arrived. They came to the gates of the stockades, behind which Corrigal and his men had barricaded themselves, and demanded the man who had shot MacDonnell. They declared that if the person was not immediately given up they would either shoot every one of the Company's men, or get the Indians to kill them, were it even to cost them a keg of brandy for each of their heads! Mowat now stepped forward and acknowledged that he was the man, and that he would shoot MacDonnell again under the same circumstances. Much to his surprise the North-Westers announced their intention of taking him and two witnesses down to Montreal for trial, and Mowat was thereupon put in irons. From the 2nd of October, when they arrived at Rainy Lake, the unhappy man was generally kept in irons from six in the morning till eight in the evening, and during the night, until

the 14th of December. During the whole winter he was kept in close confinement, and the two witnesses, Tate and Leask, who had voluntarily accompanied him, were themselves subjected to much insult and indignity, and were obliged to submit to every species of drudgery and labour in order to obtain a bare subsistence. In June the whole party, including Corrigal, arrived at Fort William, the chief trading-post rendezvous of the North-Westers. Here Mowat was imprisoned in a close and miserable dungeon, about six feet square, without any window or light of any kind whatsoever, and when he finally reached Montreal he was in a most pitiable condition. The witnesses were seized on a charge of aiding and abetting the murder of MacDonnell, and this upon the oath of one of the North-West half-breeds. The Hudson's Bay Company had at this time no agent or correspondent at Montreal, or any place in Canada, and it was not until the end of November that the Honourable Adventurers heard of the prosecution being carried on against their servants. Immediate steps were taken for their protection, and counsel engaged for the defence. Mowat and his witnesses were indicted for murder. The grand jury found a true bill against Mowat, but not against the others, and Tate and Leask were accordingly discharged.[1]

Trial of Mowat.

[1] It has been noted that several partners of the North-West concern were upon the grand jury which found the bill of indictment, and out of four judges who sat upon the bench, two were nearly related to individuals of that association.

In spite of the evidence, the jury brought in a verdict of manslaughter. The judge, who had charged them to pronounce it murder, now sentenced poor Mowat to be imprisoned six months and branded on the hand with a hot iron. After his discharge, two years from the time he was first put in irons at Eagle Lake, Mowat proceeded from Canada to the United States in order to return to England, but was never heard of again. He is supposed to have been drowned by the breaking of the ice in one of the rivers he had to cross on his journey.

Ill, then, was the posture of affairs when, in the early years of the century, there rose a name destined to be of more than local renown—Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk. A young man of benevolent character, his feelings had been deeply moved by the sufferings of his countrymen in the Scottish Highlands. Nor was the Earl's compassion excited without reason. A compulsory exodus of the inhabitants of the mountainous regions in the county of Sutherland was in progress. The tale of expulsion of a vast number of poor tenantry from the estates of the Duchess of Sutherland, which they and their ancestors had looked upon as their own without the necessity of rent and taxes, may be heard to-day from some white-haired old grandfather, who had it from the lips of his sire, in the far north of Scotland. The system of rents and land-management as it now prevails all over the Highlands had only then been put

The Earl of Selkirk.

in force, and the squatters were driven to seek their homes as best they might in the remote and sequestered places of the earth. Selkirk encouraged this emigration as the only remedy; and having endeavoured in vain to secure the active co-operation of the Government, resolved to settle a colony on waste lands granted him in Prince Edward Island. The better to insure success, he went in person to oversee the whole enterprise. Gathering together about eight hundred of these poor people, who bade a melancholy farewell to their heather-robed hills, the Earl arrived at his new colony early in September 1803.

Selkirk visited Montreal in this and also in the following year on matters connected with his philanthropic undertaking, and on both occasions evinced the heartiest interest in the great territory to the north-west which formed the theatre of action for the two rival fur-trading companies.

The Prince Edward Island colony continuing to prosper, Lord Selkirk now resolved upon forming a colony on the banks of the Red River, in Rupert's Land.[1] In order to execute his project with a greater assurance of success, he again, in 1805, addressed the British Government and nation, pointing out the successful issue of his colony as an example of the

[1] Already, in April 1802, Lord Selkirk had addressed a letter and memorial to Lord Pelham, the Home Secretary, detailing the practicability of promoting emigration to Rupert's Land. "To a colony in these territories," he concluded, "the channel of trade must be the river of Port Nelson."

excellent results which would attend a further exodus of the superfluous population.

Time went on, and the execution of the plan being still in abeyance, the great decline in Hudson's Bay stock suggested an idea to Selkirk. He submitted the charter to several of the highest legal authorities in England, and got from them the following:—

"We are of the opinion that the grant of the said contained charter is good, and that it will include all the country, the waters of which run into Hudson's Bay, as ascertained by geographical observations.

"We are of opinion that an individual holding from the Hudson's Bay Company a lease or grant in fee simple of any part of their territory, will be entitled to all the ordinary rights of landed property in England, and will be entitled to prevent other persons from occupying any part of the lands; from cutting down timber and fishing in the adjoining waters (being such as a private right of fishing may subsist in), and may (if he can peaceably or otherwise in due course of law) dispossess them of any buildings which they have recently erected within the limits of their property.

Legal opinion on the Company's charter.

"We are of opinion that the grant of the civil and criminal jurisdiction is valid, though it is not granted to the Company, but to the Governor and Council at their respective establishments. We cannot recommend, however, it to be exercised so as to affect the lives or limbs of criminals. It is to be exercised by

the Governor and Council as judges, who are to proceed according to the laws of England.

"The Company may appoint a sheriff to execute judgments and do his duty as in England.

"We are of opinion that the sheriff, in case of resistance to his authority, may collect the population to his assistance, and put arms into the hands of his servants for defence against attack, and to assist in enforcing the judgments of the courts; but such powers cannot be exercised with too much circumspection.

"We are of opinion that all persons will be subject to the jurisdiction of the court, who reside or are found within the territories over which it extends.

"We do not think the Canada Jurisdiction Act (43 George III.) gives jurisdiction within the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company, the same being within the jurisdiction of their own governors and council.[1]

"We are of opinion that the Governor (in Hudson's) might, under the authority of the Company, appoint constables and other officers for the preservation of the peace, and that the officers so appointed would have the same duties and privileges as the same officers in England, so far as these duties and privileges may be

[1] In the course of a letter reporting on the disputes between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-Westers, Commissioner Coltman attributed the disasters in the territories to the Company having held in abeyance its right to jurisdiction, and that this neglect was the reason for passing the Act of 1803. This letter is in the Canadian Archives, *v.* Report 1892.

applicable to their situation in the territories of the Company." This document was signed by Sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Justice Holroyd, W. M. Cruise, J. Scarlett, and John Bell.

Thus there could be no question of Selkirk's right. The Company's charter, amongst other provisions, expressly forbade all English subjects from entering, without license or authority, upon the territories of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Governor and Company only were empowered to grant such authority; to them also was given the right of establishing castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies, plantations, towns, and villages in any parts or places within the limits of their territory. They had also the right of sending ships of war, men or ammunition, to their colonies, fortifications, or plantations, and of appointing governors, commanders, and officers over them.

Selkirk began by purchasing several thousand pounds' worth of shares of stock, and late in 1810 he made a formal proposition to the Company — a proposition previously made and rejected—for a settlement to be made within its territory. This time some of the Honourable Adventurers began to see that the scheme might be fraught with good omen for themselves, and Lord Selkirk was asked to lay before the Committee the terms on which he would accept a grant of land within the Hudson's Bay territories, "specifying what restrictions he would be prepared to consent to be imposed on the settlers." Also what

security he would offer to the Company against any injury to its trade or to its rights and privileges.

Lord Selkirk responded to this request, and in a brief space of time his proposals were agreed to by the Governor and Committee, subject to the final approbation of a general court of all the Adventurers.

It now dawned upon the wiser spirits that here was being offered to them the means for the Company's salvation. Nevertheless, the traditional opposition of the Company to any project of the kind still lingered, and was not easily disposed of. For weeks the meetings in committee resounded with appeals to "traditional policy," to "loyalty to the noble, the ancient founders," to "a spirit of reverence for the history of our Company," but all to no purpose. Selkirk was to carry the day. A general court was convened, by public notice, in May 1811, when the stockholders were informed that the Governor and Committee considered it beneficial to their general interests to grant Lord Selkirk 116,000 square miles of their territory, on condition that he should establish a colony and furnish, on certain terms, from amongst the settlers such labourers as would be required by the Company in their trade.

Selkirk's project.

In order to give the partners a further opportunity of making themselves fully informed of the nature of the proposed measure, an adjournment of the court took place. In the meanwhile notice was given to all the stockholders that the terms of the proposed

grant were left at the secretary's office for their inspection; and this interval was the opportunity of McGillivray and his friends.[1]

In certain quarters, no pains or misrepresentations were spared by persons associated with the North-West company to prejudice the public mind; and now the newspapers teemed with falsehoods representing the country as cold or barren, as a dreary waste or interminable forest, unfit to be the abode of men and incapable of improvement. Selkirk was accosted in Pall Mall by a friend who remarked; "By God, sir, if you are bent on doing something futile, why do you not sow tares at home in order to reap wheat, or plough the desert of Sahara, which is so much nearer."

Old servants of the Company came forward to dispel these calumnies, and seeing their first falsehoods destroyed, Selkirk's enemies now proceeded to adopt new tactics. They spoke with feigned alarm concerning the hostile disposition of the aborigines; they lamented with affected sympathy and humanity the injuries and slaughters to which the colonists would be exposed from the savages.

At the adjourned meeting the proposition was again discussed amidst the greatest excitement and tumult. This time it was adopted, in spite of the memorial or protest which was entered against the measure, bearing the signature of six of the proprietors.

[1] Their own purchase of Hudson's Bay stock was now planned.

Of these six signing the protest, three were persons closely connected with and interested in the rival commercial concerns of the North-West company of Montreal; and two of the three were, at the very moment, avowed London agents of that association. These had become proprietors of Hudson's Bay stock only eight-and-forty hours before the general meeting. They were not indeed possessed of it long enough to entitle them to vote at the meeting; but their names now being entered in the Company's books, though the ink was scarcely dry with which they were inserted, they felt themselves competent to formally raise their voices in condemnation of those measures which the committee of directors unanimously, and the general court by a great majority, had approved of.

Opposition by agents of the North-West company.

Their design in acquiring the Company's stock was obvious. However circuitous the stratagem might be, it was clear that they had thus become proprietors of one commercial company for the purpose of advancing the fortunes of another, and a rival concern.[1] The stratagem did not altogether fail, for Lord

"I have," writes Sir Alexander Mackenzie from London, 13th April 1812, "finally settled with that Lord (Selkirk). After having prepared a bill to carry him before the Lord Chancellor, it was proposed to my solicitor by the solicitor of his Lordship that one-third of the stock that was purchased on joint account before I went to America, amounting to £47,000, and the balance of cash in his Lordship's hands belonging to me, should be given up to me; of this I accepted, though I might have obliged his Lordship to make over to me one-third of the whole purchase made by him in this stock, which at one time I was determined to do, having been encouraged thereto by the house of

Selkirk's agents were yet to encounter much friction in distant quarters supposed to be friendly, and required to be obedient to the orders of the Company.

When the vote was taken, it was found that for the question there appeared holders of stock valued at £29,937; against it, £14,823. The Earl himself voted "for"—£4087; the principal opponent of the scheme being one William Thwaytes, whose interest was represented at £9233. The majority refrained from voting at all.

At this meeting a memorial was read violently opposing the scheme, signed by Thwaytes and four or five others. According to them, the main objections were: (*a*) Impolitic; (*b*) Consideration inadequate; (*c*) Grant asked for very large proportion of Company's holding, viz., 70,000 square miles, or about 45,000,000 acres; (*d*) Should be a public sale, if any, not a private contract with a member of the Company; (*e*) No penalty for failure to find settlers; (*f*) Colonisation unfavourable to the fur-trade; private traffic

Suffolk Lane and countenanced by that of Mark Lane. But these houses thought it prudent to desist from any further purchases."

Mackenzie says that by a verbal understanding with Mr. McGillivray, his purchase of the Hudson's Bay stock belonged to the North-West company, and that, if Mr. McGillivray himself had been there, a sum of £30,000 might have been invested in that stock, "all of which Lord Selkirk purchased, and if he persists in his present scheme, it will be the dearest he yet made.

"He will put the North-West company to a greater expense than you seem to apprehend, and had the Company sacrificed £20,000 which might have secured a preponderance in the stock of Hudson's Bay Co., it would have been money well spent."

would be carried on with the United States of America.

The Earl proposed to find a number of effective men as servants to the Hudson's Bay Company in return for a grant of land, that is to say, two hundred men for ten years, from 1812, who would every year be ready to embark between May 1st and July 1st at an appointed place in Scotland.

The Company were to pay wages to each man not exceeding £20. Should the Earl fail, he agreed to forfeit £10 per man short of two hundred. As to proposed grants of land to settlers, two hundred acres were to be given to labourers or artificers; one thousand acres to a master of a trading-house. The Company were, of course, to have full rights of access to all the surrendered districts.

The customs duties, exports and imports, payable by settlers were not to exceed five per cent. at Port Nelson, unless it happened that a higher duty was levied at Quebec. The duties so to be levied were to be applied to the expense of Government police, communication between Lake Winnipeg and Port Nelson, and outlay of like character, and not to be taken as profits for the Company. On the 13th of June the deed was signed, sealed, and delivered by the secretary on behalf of the Company.

Earl Selkirk's proposal accepted.

The lands were defined by deed as situate between 52° 30′ north latitude and 102° 30′ west longitude, a map being affixed to the deed.

In reading the protest of the dissentients amongst the Adventurers, one who was ignorant of the true state of affairs would have been led to believe that they had no object so dear to them as the welfare and prosperity of the Hudson's Bay Company. These gentlemen appeared to be animated by the most thorough devotion and zeal, as they stood together declaiming in loud, earnest tones against the errors into which their beloved Company was falling, and pouring out their sympathy to the emigrant settlers who might be lured to their destruction by establishing themselves on the lands so granted "out of reach," to employ their own phrase, "of all those aids and comforts which are derived from civil society;" and so it did truly appear to many then as it has done since. But as has been observed when we examine those signatures, lo, the wolf obtrudes himself basking in the skin of a lamb!

The grant was thus confirmed. The opposition had found itself powerless, and Selkirk was put into possession of a territory only 5115 square miles less than the entire area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.[1]

The grant secured, Selkirk at once despatched agents to Ireland and throughout the Highlands of Scotland, to engage servants, some for the Company's service, others for general labourers in the colony.

[1] The district thus granted was called Assiniboia, a name undoubtedly derived from the Assiniboine tribe and river, yet amusingly alleged by some at the time to be taken from two Gaelic words "Osni" and "Boia"—the House of Ossian.

These last were known as "his lordship's servants," and were engaged for a term of years, at the expiration of which they became entitled to one hundred acres of land, free of cost. They were placed under the charge of Miles MacDonnell, who received a joint appointment from Selkirk and the Company, as first Governor of the new colony.

Selkirk's immigrants arrive.

The first section of the immigrant party arrived at York Factory late in the autumn of 1811.[1] This post was then in charge of William Auld, who then occupied the position of Superintendent of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land. After a short residence at the fort, where they were treated in a somewhat tyrannical and high-handed fashion by the Governor, who had scant sympathy for the new *régime*, the party were sent forward to Seal Creek, fifty miles up Nelson River. Governor MacDonnell and one Hillier, in the character of justice of the peace, accompanied them thither, and preparations were at once made for the erection of a suitable shelter.

MacDonnell experienced a great deal of trouble during the winter with the men under his charge, for a mutinous spirit broke out, and he was put to his wits' end to enforce discipline. He put it all down to the Glasgow

[1] "None of the young men," says MacDonnell, "made any progress in learning the Gaelic or Irish language on the voyage. I had some drills of the people with arms, but the weather was generally boisterous, and there were few days when a person could stand steady on deck. There never was a more awkward squad—not a man, or even officer, of the party knew how to put a gun to his eye or had ever fired a shot."

servants. "These Glasgow rascals," he declared to Auld, the Governor of York Factory, "have caused us both much trouble and uneasiness. A more stubborn, litigious, and cross-grained lot were never put under any person's care. I cannot think that any liberality of rum or rations could have availed to stop their dissatisfaction. Army and navy discipline is the only thing fit to manage such fierce spirits."

But the Irish of the party were hardly more tractable. On New Year's night, 1812, a violent and unprovoked attack was made by some of the Irish on a party of Orkneymen, who were celebrating the occasion. Three of the latter were so severely beaten that for a month the surgeon could not report their lives entirely out of danger. Four of the Irishmen concerned in this assault were sent back home. "Worthless blackguards," records the Governor; "the lash may make them serviceable to the Government in the army or navy, but they will never do for us."

On the subject of the Orkney servants of the Company all critics were not agreed. Governor MacDonnell's opinion, for instance, was not flattering—

"There cannot," he reported, "be much improvement made in the country while the Orkneymen form the majority of labourers; they are lazy, spiritless, and ill-disposed—wedded to old habits, strongly prejudiced against any change, however beneficial. It was with the utmost reluctance they could be prevailed on to drink the spruce juice to save themselves from the

scurvy; they think nothing of the scurvy, as they are then idle, and their wages run on. . . . It is not uncommon for an Orkneyman to consume six pounds or eight pounds of meat in a day, and some have ate as much in a single meal. This gluttonous appetite, they say, is occasioned by the cold. I entirely discredit the assertion, as I think it rather to be natural to themselves. All the labour I have seen these men do would scarcely pay for the victuals they consume. With twenty-five men belonging to it, the factory was last winter distressed for firewood, and the people sent to tent in the woods." [1]

Opposition by the Nor'-Westers.

Meanwhile, leaving the shivering immigrants, distrustful of their officers and doubtful of what the future had in store for them, to encamp at Seal Creek, let us now examine the attitude of the parties concerned elsewhere, particularly amongst the Nor'-Westers. Simon

[1] Governor MacDonnell's observations are not always to be relied upon. For instance, he says in one report, "I am surprised the Company never directed a survey to be made of the coast on each side of Hudson's Straits. From the appearance of the country there must be many harbours and inlets for vessels to go in case of an accident from ice, want of water, &c. We were often, ourselves, much in doubt for the accomplishment of our voyage, and had we been under the necessity of putting back, must have suffered for want of water. Two of the ships, without any additional expense, might execute this survey on the voyage out, with only the detention of a few days, one taking the north and the other the south shore." Such a survey had been made as early as 1728. Mention has already been made of Captain Coats, who, in 1739, prepared a chart of the Straits and Bay. To some of the older captains in the service the Straits were as well known as the harbour of Stromness.

McGillivray, who was agent in London for that Company, watched all Selkirk's acts with the utmost distrust, and kept the partners continually informed of the turn affairs were taking. He assured them that Selkirk's philanthropy was all a cloak, designed to cover up a scheme for the total extinction of the Hudson's Bay Company's rivals. The colony was to be planted to ruin their trade. It was an endeavour to check the physical superiority of the Nor'-Westers, and by means of this settlement secure to the Hudson's Bay Company and to himself, not only the extensive and sole trade of the country within their own territories, but a "safe and convenient stepping stone for monopolising all the fur-trade of the Far West."

The Northmen in Montreal were stirred to action. Regarding Lord Selkirk's motives in this light, they warmly disputed the validity of the Hudson's Bay Company's charter and of the grants of land made to him. It was decided to bring all the forces of opposition they possessed to bear on this unwarranted "invasion of their hunting grounds." They looked around them and saw that a fierce and terrible weapon lay ready to their hand.

This weapon was called the Bois-Brulé.[1]

[1] Literally: Burnt Wood. The name had been originally applied to the charred tree-trunks which everywhere greet the eye after a forest fire.

CHAPTER XXX

1812–15

The Bois-Brulés—Simon McGillivray's Letter—Frightening the Settlers—A second Brigade—Governor MacDonnell's Manifesto—Defection of Northmen to the Company—Robertson's Expedition to Athabasca—Affairs at Red River—Cameron and MacDonnell in uniform—Cuthbert Grant—Miles MacDonnell arrested—Fort William—News brought to the Northmen—Their confiscated Account-books—War of 1812 concluded.

There had lately been witnessed in the North-West the rapid growth of a new class—sprung from the loins of Red man and European. Alert, rugged, turbulent, they evinced at the same time a passionate love of the life and manners of the wilderness, and a fierce intractability which could hardly fail to cause uneasiness in the minds of their masters. To this class had been given the name of Métis, or Bois-Brulés. They were principally the descendants of the French voyageurs of the North-West concern, who had allied themselves with Indian women and settled down on the shore of some lake or stream in the interior. Amongst these half-breeds hunters and trappers came, and at a later period a

The Bois-Brulés.

number of Englishmen and Scotchmen, hardly less strongly linked to a wild and hardy life than themselves. These also took Indian wives, and they and their children spoke of themselves as neither English, Scotch, or Indian, but as belonging to the "New Nation."

From 1812 to 1821 the North-West concern absorbed all the labours of the increasing class of Bois-Brulés, and exacted all its loyalty. The Hudson's Bay Company was exclusively an English company, and their Scotch and English servants had left few traces of an alliance with the aborigines. As the posts in the interior began to multiply, and the men were thus cut off from the larger society which obtained at York, Cumberland, and Moose factories, and were thrown more upon their own resources, a laxer discipline prevailed, and the example of their neighbours was followed. A time was to come when the "Orkney half-breeds" equalled in point of numbers those of the French Bois-Brulés.

But at this period there were few half-breeds of English extraction. The Bois-Brulés were passionately attached to the North-West company, who were quick to recognise their value as agents amongst the Indians. The idea of nationality, so far from being frowned upon, was encouraged amongst them. So much for the instruments which the Northmen proposed to employ in the Uplands.

It was only natural that amongst this rude race

there should arise a leader, and one therefore arose, a half-breed to whose superior ability and natural advantages was added an education in Montreal, the seat of the co-partnery. Cuthbert Grant was known far and wide amongst the hunters and trappers of Rupert's Land, and everywhere amongst them appeared to command homage and respect. He had risen to be one of the most enterprising and unscrupulous agents of the Nor'-Westers, and was constantly admitted to their councils.

Simon McGillivray had at the beginning very frankly declared [1] to Lord Selkirk's agent that he was "determined to give all the opposition in his power, whatever might be the consequences," because, in his opinion, "such a settlement [2] struck at the root of the North-West company, which it was intended to ruin."

By way of argument, this gentleman took it upon himself to inform the Hudson's Bay Company that the proposed settlement was foredoomed to destruction, inasmuch as it "must at all times lie at the mercy of the Indians," who would not be bound by treaties,

[1] Under date of the 22nd of May 1811, at which period the matter of the Red River settlement was in embyro in London.

[2] The precise spot for the colony was well chosen by Selkirk, had his object been only the confusion and discomfiture of the North-Westers. It was their great depôt for the preparation of pemmican. Were the region to become colonised it would slowly but surely cut off the buffalo, from which pemmican was made, and eventually force the North-Westers to import from Canada, at ruinous expense, the chief part of the provisions requisite for their trading expeditions.

and that "one North-West company's interpreter would be able at any time to set the Indians against the settlers and destroy them."

At this juncture Selkirk received information of several clerks who, many years in the service of the Northmen, were disaffected towards that service. They grumbled at not having been sooner promoted to the proprietary—that the claims of the old and faithful were too often passed over for those of younger men of little experience, because they were related to the partners. The Earl was not slow to avail himself of this advantage. It became a matter of importance to persuade as many as possible of these dissatisfied spirits to join his scheme, by the offer of large salaries, and several accepted his offer with alacrity. Amongst the most enterprising was one Colin Robertson, a trader who had often ventured his life amongst the tribes and half-breeds, to forward the interests of his establishment. He possessed a perfect knowledge of the interior and of the fur-trade, and to him Lord Selkirk entrusted the chief management of the Company's traffic. Robertson was well convinced of the superiority of the Canadian voyageurs over the Orkneymen, in the management of canoes, for example, and he proceeded to engage a number of them in Montreal at a much higher wage than they had hitherto received.

Defections from the North-West company.

To Robertson's counsels must be ascribed much of

the vigour which now began to mark the policy of the Company. His letters to his employers, full of common sense, were imbued with a fighting spirit. "Let us carry the trade to Athabasca," he said; and he proceeded to demonstrate how all rivalry could be annihilated. The strength and weakness of his rivals were familiar to him, and he was well aware how much depended on the Indians themselves. They could and would deal with whom they chose. Robertson determined they should deal henceforth, not with the Northmen, but with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The Northmen had been for years continually pressing to the West. They were doing a thriving trade on the Columbia River, in Oregon, where they had a lucrative post; they had a post to the south of that in California, and to the north as far as New Archangel. In the second decade of the century the North-West concern had over three hundred Canadians in its employ on the Pacific slope, sending three or four ships annually to London by way of Cape Horn. In 1810 they found a competitor in the traders of Astoria, a post founded by John Jacob Astor, a fur-monopolist of New York. Astor had made overtures to the North-West partners, which had been declined; whereupon he induced about twenty Canadians to leave them and enter his service. He despatched two expeditions, one overland and the other by sea, around Cape Horn. But the founder of Astoria had not foreseen that the breaking out of war between Great

Britain and America would upset all his plans. Fort Astoria, in the fortunes of war, changed hands and became Fort George; and although the post was, by the Treaty of Ghent, restored, the Canadians and Scotchmen had returned to their old employers and interests. In a few years the Hudson's Bay Company was to control the chief part of the fur-trade of the Pacific Coast.

None of the Company's servants had yet trafficked as far west as Athabasca. Yet it was the great northern department of Rupert's Land — a country which, if not flowing with milk and honey, swarmed with moose and beaver. To Athabasca, therefore, Robertson went to barter for furs.

This first expedition was highly successful. Never had the natives received such high prices for their furs. Seduced from their allegiance to the Northmen, and dimly recalling the tales of their sires regarding journeys in the olden time to the posts of the Great Company, they rallied in scores and hundreds round its standard. The news spread far and wide. Other tribes heard and marvelled. They, too, had listened to legends of the white traders, who far away, past rivers and plain and mountain, sat still in their forts and waited for the Red man to bring them furs. But a wonderful thing had now happened: the Mountain was coming to Mahomet. Many of the Red men resolved to keep their furs until the traders from the Bay came

The Company in Athabasca.

amongst them too; and although gnashing their teeth, the Northmen were compelled to give them still higher prices, if they would obtain the goods of the savages, and so secure their wavering loyalty.

Other measures it became incumbent upon them to institute. They were obliged, for instance, to send double the usual quantity of merchandise into the interior, and they were also forced to supply extra provisions to their own men, and to raise their wages; while several clerks were elected partners. But cost what it might, the Northmen were determined to fight to the end.

When the treaty with America placed the Grand Portage within American territory, the North-Westers were already in possession of a new rendezvous. The step of removing from Grand Portage had been anticipated as far back as 1785, when Edward Umfreville was sent to reconnoitre a site for a new fort on British territory. None appeared better suited to the purposes of the Northmen than the western extremity of Lake Superior; the river Kaministiquia was deep and of easy access, and offered a safe harbour for shipping. On the other hand, the new site was in low, swampy soil; but by dint of great labour and perseverance they succeeded in draining the marshes and in converting to solidity the unstable foundations, accomplishing on a small scale much of what Czar Peter was obliged to do on a large scale with the foundation of Petersburg.

When all was finished, Fort William, as it was called,[1] presented an engaging exterior. It possessed the appearance of a fort, having a palisade fifteen feet high, while the number of dwellings it enclosed gave it, from a distance, the appearance of a charming village. In the centre of the spacious enclosure rose a large wooden building, constructed with considerable pretensions to elegance, a long piazza or portico, at an elevation of five feet from the ground and surmounted by a balcony, fronting the building its entire length. The great hall or saloon was situated in the middle of this building. At each extremity of this apartment were two rooms, designed for the use of the two principal agents, and the steward and his staff, the last-named official being a highly important personage. The kitchen and servants' rooms were in the basement. On either side of the main edifice was another of similar but less lofty extent, each divided by a corridor running through its length and containing a dozen cosy bedrooms. One was destined for the wintering partners, the other for the clerks. On the east of the square stood another building similar to the ones named, and applied to the same purpose; also a warehouse, where the furs were inspected and packed for shipment. In the rear of these were the lodging-house of the guides, another fur warehouse, and lastly, a powder magazine, a sub-

Fort William.

[1] In honour of William McGillivray, principal partner of the North-West concern.

stantial structure of stone with a metal roof. A great bastion, at an angle of the fort, commanded a view of Lake Superior. There were other buildings to the westward, stores, a gaol, workshops of the carpenter, cooper, blacksmith, and tinsmith, with spacious yards for the shelter, repair, and construction of canoes. Near the gate of the fort, which faced the south, were the quarters of the physician and the chief clerks, and over the gates was a guard-house. The river being of considerable depth at the entrance, the company had a wharf built extending the whole length of the fort, for the discharge of the vessels it maintained on the lake, and for the transport of its furs from Fort William to Sault Ste. Marie, or merchandise and provisions from the latter place to Fort William. The land behind the fort and on both sides was cleared and under cultivation.

At the beginning of spring the "first brigade" of immigrants resumed its journey to the Red River Valley, arriving at what is now known as Point Douglas, late in August 1812. Hardly had they reached this spot than they were immediately thrown into the greatest fright and disorder. A band of armed men, painted, disfigured, and apparelled like savages, confronted this little band of colonists and bade them halt. They were told briefly that they were unwelcome visitors in that region, and must depart. The colonists might have been urged to make a stand, but to the terrors of hostile Indian

and half-breed was added that of prospective starvation, for none thereabouts would sell them provisions.

The immigrants at Red River.

The painted warriors, who were North-West company Métis in disguise, urged them to proceed to Pembina, where they would be unharmed, offering to conduct them there. They acquiesced, and the pilgrimage was resumed for seventy miles farther. At Pembina they passed the winter in tents, according to the Indian fashion, subsisting on the products of the chase, in common with the natives.

When spring came it was decided to again venture to plant the colony on the banks of the Red River. Means were found to placate their opponents, log-houses were built, and patches of prairie sown with corn. A small quantity of seed wheat, obtained at Fort Alexander, yielded them handsome returns at harvest time, and the lot of the settlers seemed brighter; nevertheless they decided to repair to Pembina for the winter, and, husbanding their corn, live by hunting until spring.

While affairs were thus proceeding with the colonists, Lord Selkirk, in 1813, paid a visit to Ireland, where he secured a large number of people as servants for the fur-trade and the colony, in addition to those engaged in the Highlands.[1]

Selkirk infused new life into the Company, and a

[1] "It will never do," wrote Governor MacDonnell to his chief, "to take the colonists from among the Company's servants. The Orkneymen are so averse to labour that they prefer the Company's service to agriculture, and all being engaged in the name of the Company they object to serve in the colony, thinking it a separate concern."

number of plans for its prosperity now emanated from his brain. For a long time the Company had had much at heart the erection of a new factory in place of York Factory, but there had not hitherto been sufficient strength of hands to accomplish this. Selkirk wrote to MacDonnell that if the settlers were employed in that object for the winter, the Company stood ready to pay their wages. "Perhaps," he added, "it would be more advisable to do this than to make an abortive attempt to reach the interior. . . . I believe that I mentioned that I am anxious to have the soundings of Nelson River taken, from Seal Island down to the open sea. I beg that while you are at York, you will try to induce some of the officers of the ships to go and make the survey. I will pay a handsome premium to the individual who accomplishes it."

On 28th June the Company's ships, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Eddystone*, sailed out of the little harbour of Stromness. They were accompanied by two other vessels, one a brig bound for the Moravian missions on the Labrador coast, and the other his Majesty's sloop of war *Brazen*, as armed convoy. The voyage was scarcely as monotonous as such voyages usually were, for on board the *Prince of Wales* typhoid fever of a virulent character broke out, causing a panic and a number of deaths. Marine funerals were of a daily occurrence. As for the *Eddystone*, an insurrection marked the passage; during which the sailors and passengers between decks sought

Irish colonists brought out.

to obtain possession of the ship and dispose of her, together with her cargo and effects, to France or Spain, or to the ships or colonies of those countries then at war with England. The captain was, happily, informed of the plan; he immediately placed armed men to guard the hatches, loaded the quarter gun with grape shot, and coolly awaited the advent on deck of the conspirators. These appeared in due course, but were quick to perceive themselves completely outwitted, and retired below in confusion.

On the 12th of August the little fleet found an anchorage in Churchill River, in close proximity to the old Fort Prince of Wales. All the immigrants were landed, and after a short rest were sent forward, some on foot and others by boat, to a place known as Colony Creek. Here they built log cabins, and in their weak, unacclimatised state drew together to pass the winter in those hyperborean regions. In order to receive the scant rations dealt out to them by the powers at the fort, they were obliged to perform a journey of thirty miles on snowshoes each week. But the trials and hardships of the poor wanderers, amongst which was the deprivation of the locks of their guns "in order that they should not kill the Company's partridges," came to an end in April, when their gun-locks were restored and they took up their journey to York Factory, finding considerable game as they went along. At the factory they met with a hospitable reception from Chief Factor Cook, and continuing their journey-

ings after a short halt, reached Fort Douglas in the early autumn. Governor MacDonnell welcomed the members of this second brigade, and proceeded to allot to each head of a family one hundred acres of land and an Indian pony. A few days later they were called together, and after having been regaled with a glass of spirits, all were severally furnished with a musket, bayonet, and ammunition. They were told they must offer an armed resistance to their tormentors and aggressors should they again appear, and admonished that it was only the strong who could dictate to the weak. Notwithstanding, the colonists could not but marvel at the plentiful lack of preparation for the agricultural pursuits which they had intended to follow in this remote region. Of farm implements, there were few or none at all left, nor was there metal of which these could be fashioned, unless it was the formidable battery of field-guns, or the plentiful supply of muskets and bayonets. At Fort Douglas, under the circumstances, the colonists could remain but a short time; it was necessary for them to resort, as their forerunners had done, to Pembina, so as to be within convenient distance of the buffalo.

In the spring of 1814, the colonists, after a winter rendered miserable by the jealousy and unfriendliness of the Indians and half-breeds, returned to Red River in a state of great destitution, resolved never to return to Pembina, no matter how distressed their circumstances.

But a step had been taken during that winter by Governor MacDonnell which was to become celebrated. Incensed at the boycotting of the colonists and stirred to action by their misery, he issued from Fort Daer, which was the name of the Company's post erected at Pembina, the following proclamation :—

"Whereas, the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, is anxious to provide for the families at present forming settlements on his lands at Red River and those on the way to it, passing the winter at York and Churchill Forts in Hudson's Bay, as also those who are expected to arrive next autumn, rendering it a necessary and indispensable part of my duty to provide for their support. In the yet uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resources derived from the buffalo and other wild animals hunted within the territory, are not deemed more than adequate for the requisite supply.

"Whereas, it is hereby ordered that no person trading furs or provisions within the territory for the Honourable the Hudson's Bay Company, or the North-West company, or any individual or unconnected traders or persons whatever, shall take any provisions, either of flesh, fish, grain, or vegetables, procured or raised within the said territory, by water or land carriage, for one twelvemonth from the date hereof, save and except what may be judged necessary for the trading parties at this present time within the territory, to carry them to their respective destinations; and who may, on due application to me, obtain a license for the same.

Governor MacDonnell's proclamation.

"The provisions procured and raised as above shall be taken for the use of the colony; and that no loss shall accrue to the parties concerned, they will be paid for by British bills at the customary rates. And be it hereby further made known that whosoever shall be detected in attempting to convey out, or

shall aid or assist in carrying out, or attempting to carry out, any provisions prohibited as above, either by water or land, shall be taken into custody and prosecuted as the laws in such cases direct; and the provisions so taken, as well as any goods and chattels, of what nature soever, which may be taken along with them, and also the craft, carriages, and cattle instrumental in conveying away the same to any part out to any settlement on Red River, shall be forfeited.

"Given under my hand at Fort Daer (Pembina), the 8th day of January 1814.

"(Signed) MILES MACDONNELL, *Governor.*
(By order of the Governor.)

"(Signed) JOHN SPENCER, *Secretary.*"

A copy of this proclamation was despatched in all haste to Fort William, where the partners met in the spring. It excited the greatest indignation and bitterness. The Northmen were resolved to inveigle away as many of the colonists as could be induced to join the North-West standard, and after they should thus have diminished MacDonnell's means of defence, to exhort the Indians of Lac Rouge, Fond du Lac, and other places, to rise and destroy the settlement. It was likewise their avowed intention to seize the Governor and carry him to Montreal as a prisoner, by way of degrading the authority under which the colony was established in the eyes of the natives of that country.

Among the partners of the North-West concern who received their instructions from this general annual meeting at Fort William, were Duncan

Cameron and Alexander McDonell. These two worthies were selected by the partnership to superintend and execute the plans entered into against the Red River colony. On the 5th of August the last-named thus wrote to a fellow-partner at Montreal from one of the portages lying between Lake Superior and the place of his winter destination in the interior, to which he was then proceeding: "You see myself, and our mutual friend, Mr. Cameron, so far on our way to commence open hostilities against the enemy in Red River. Much is expected from us, and if we believe some—perhaps too much. One thing is certain, that we will do our best to defend what we consider our rights in the interior. Something serious will undoubtedly take place. Nothing but the complete downfall of the colony will satisfy some, by fair or foul means — a most desirable object if it can be accomplished. So here is at them, with all my heart and energy."

Hostilities planned by the North-West concern.

Cameron and his co-partner accordingly proceeded towards their destination, and arrived about the end of August at a trading post (called Fort Gibraltar) belonging to the North-West concern, situated at the Forks, within half a mile of the Red River settlement. Cameron remained during the winter, but not so McDonell, who proceeded farther into the interior, returning from a considerable distance in the month of May with a party of Cree Indians.

Cameron, to whom his associates appear to have confided the task of opposing, upon the spot, the further progress of colonisation, was well qualified to perform such a service. He began by ingratiating himself amongst several of the heads of families in the settlement, and being able to converse with many of them in their native Gaelic tongue, by degrees he gained their confidence and good opinion. He frequently invited them to his lodge, and, in short, took every means to secure their favour. They saw no reason to suspect his intentions; and thus the influence which he gradually acquired over many of their members during the autumn and winter, was artfully exerted to make them discontented alike with their situation, their officers, and their prospects. He alarmed them with constant reports which he stated he had received from the interior, that the Indians from a distance were coming in the spring to attack them; and that unless they placed themselves under the protection of the North-West company, and accepted his offers to take them to Canada, they would never be able to escape from the country or avoid the dangers surrounding them.

Always ingenious, when Cameron and McDonell left Fort William for Red River, they had adopted the expedient of clothing themselves in British military uniforms. A scarlet coat with a pair of epaulets, the cast-off uniform of a major, which had previously adorned the person of a factor named McLeod, now

ROBERT SEMPLE

From a miniature painted in London about 1815.
In the possession of MATTHEW SEMPLE

added to Cameron's dignity. He pretended to bear the King's commission, as did also his companion; and these two worthies occasionally rode around the country in uniform, attended by a numerous suite of clerks and half-breeds, and other servants of the North-West company on horseback. Such imposture and assumed airs of authority would have evoked merely contempt or laughter, but under the circumstances had great weight with the ignorant settlers, who could not help believing that Cameron and his followers were sanctioned by Government in their position and behaviour. The North-West agents now proceeded to put their plans into execution. The immigrants were alternately bribed, cajoled, and threatened into abandoning their settlement on the Red River. To each Cameron engaged to give a free passage to Canada (generally to Montreal), a twelvemonth's supply of provisions *gratis* for themselves and families, while various sums, varying from £15 to £100, were paid or promised to deserters. A pretext being found, Spencer, the sheriff of the colony and a really valuable officer, was taken prisoner under a warrant from a North-West partner, and after a protracted detention sent overland to Montreal.

The North-West company causes discontent among the settlers.

During the interval between the autumn of 1814 and the spring of 1815, a number of the settlers were seduced and instigated to disloyalty against their benefactors and the Company. A large band of the

Bois-Brulés were, during this period, maintained and paraded in arms under Cameron, who, now that the preparatory measures had reached this stage, believed the time ripe for action more decisive.

The ruling spirit amongst the half-breed hordes, Cuthbert Grant, thus reappears on the scene, with some of his choicest dare-devil crew. The return of the settlers to the colony had filled the souls of the Bois-Brulés with rage. The contempt was great of the wild hunters for the peaceful tillers of the plain. Them they scorned for their manual labour; they reproachfully termed them "the workers in gardens," and the phrase, "pork-eaters," formerly given to the voyageurs east of Fort William, was applied derisively to the Scotch settlers. Cuthbert looked forward to a grand gathering in the spring at "The Forks," to administer a final blow to the infant colony

At last several disaffected settlers during the temporary absence of a number of those who still continued faithful to their contracts and their duty, were incited to rob and pillage the fort of the settlement, and seize the cannon sent out by the British Government for its defence. Armed sentinels were placed at different doors to prevent opposition, while a part of the Bois-Brulés and servants of the Nor'-Westers, under the command of Cameron, were stationed in arms within the distance of a few hundred feet for the purpose of giving support to

the plunderers in case their force should be insufficient. Nine pieces of artillery were thus taken from the settlement and delivered to the North-West party in waiting, who with boisterous shouts of triumph conveyed them to their own headquarters, Fort Gibraltar. To celebrate this exploit, on the following evening Cameron gave a ball and entertainment to the parties who had so valorously engaged in it.

A camp was now established at a place called Frog Plain, about four miles below the settlement, by the servants and partisans of the North-Westers, under the command of McDonell. In June 1815, after the colony had been, as we have seen, deprived of the means of defence, and was largely surrounded by its enemies, the whole force of Cameron's post, consisting of half-breeds, servants, and North-West clerks, sallied forth to make a combined attack on the settlement. A sharp fire of musketry was kept up for some time on the Governor's house and adjacent buildings. In this attack only four persons belonging to the settlement were wounded, but one subsequently died. Three days later, the men encamped at Frog Plain received orders to march to the settlement, where they erected a battery against the building called Government House, upon which they planted a portion of the cannon previously taken. After a series of attacks and skirmishes Governor MacDonnell was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, and under a warrant from a partner in the

Attack on the settlement.

North-West company, sent to Montreal, charged with an undue arrogance of authority to the detriment of the fur-trade.

But the North-Westers were not yet satisfied. The principal person of the settlement (and one who also held the appointment, from the Hudson's Bay Company, of Governor of the entire district) was, it is true, in custody; but having got possession of him, peremptory orders were issued to Cameron directing the remaining settlers to leave the Red River. Several wanton acts of aggression followed on the part of Alexander McDonell, who, after Cameron's departure with his prisoner, succeeded to the command at the Forks. The colonists were frequently fired on; the farmhouse was broken open and pillaged; a number of farm labourers were arrested; horses were stolen and cattle driven away. On the 22nd of June another attack with fire-arms was made upon the Governor's house, but the fire was not returned by the dispirited settlers, who now resolved—not, however, too soon—to migrate.

An episode occurring on the very eve of their departure showed clearly upon whose side the Indians of the interior were disposed to range themselves. Two Saulteur chiefs, with about forty warriors of that nation, arrived at the settlement. Learning the condition of affairs, they went over to the North-Westers' fort and endeavoured to prevail upon McDonell to cease his persecution and allow the colonists to remain. Naturally, their request was refused, although the Indian

numbers prevented the haughty Northman from laughing in their faces. To McLeod, the Hudson's Bay factor at Fort Douglas, the Indians expressed their regret; but considering the armament at the disposal of their foes, could offer them merely the protection of an escort down the river to Lake Winnipeg. The offer was thankfully accepted, and under their Indian escort the officers and remaining settlers, amounting to about sixty, left Fort Douglas, leaving McLeod and three clerks behind. Having in this manner quitted their homes, they proceeded in canoes to the mouth of the Red River, crossed Lake Winnipeg and took up a new abode at a trading post on Jack River belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company.

Forced departure of the colonists.

The day following their departure a party of North-West company clerks, servants, and half-breeds gathered at the spot, and setting fire to the houses, the mill, and the other buildings, destroyed them.[1]

Great joy filled the breasts of the North-Westers assembled at Fort William when these brave tidings were conveyed to their ear. The narrative was accompanied by convincing proofs of the great victory gained over the enemy, in the persons of a number of the settlers themselves, including men, women, and children. These arrived near the end of July and found many of the partners gathered to receive them. The conduct of Cameron and McDonell met with the

[1] Fort Douglas itself, however, they left intact.

most enthusiastic approval. They were again appointed to command at the same stations in the interior, which they had charge of the previous season, with a view to oppose any further attempt to restore the scattered colony on Red River.

While, however, these marks of approbation were lavished upon the heroes of this work of destruction, the subordinate agents were by no means so liberally rewarded as they had reason to expect. They even complained of being defrauded of their promised hire. Many of the deserters from the colony, however, and those of the settlers whose treachery had proved most useful to the Montreal Company, were well rewarded for their services. One most interesting memorial of this business well deserves to be rescued from oblivion. It is the account-book captured in the following year by Lord Selkirk, together with other papers and effects of the North-West company at Fort William, and despatched for safe keeping to Hudson's Bay House in London. It shows that credits were given to forty-eight of these persons for various articles which they had plundered from the settlement and delivered to Cameron at Fort Gibraltar. These consisted principally of implements of husbandry, working tools, horses, muskets, guns, pistols, &c. &c. Thus in one of the pages appears a credit "for five new guns, £10; for a new common pistol, 15s.; one old gun, 15s.," &c. &c. At the bottom of these accounts were

Treachery rewarded.

generally added the amounts they were to receive, and did receive, as rewards for their services against the settlement. Several thus obtained larger sums than, in all probability, they had ever been possessed of at any one period in the course of their lives. To many of their accounts were also subjoined, in the handwriting of Cameron and McDonell, brief abstracts of the services which these deserters had respectively performed in promoting the destruction of the settlement.

As an illustration of this, honourable mention is made of one of them (in the handwriting of Cameron) in this style: "This man joined our people in February, was a great partisan, and very useful to us ever since, and deserves something from the North-West company, say, five or six pounds." Of another: "This man was also a great partisan of ours, and made himself very useful to us; he lost his three years' earnings with the Hudson's Bay Company for joining us, and he deserves, at least, about £20." Of another (entered by Alexander McDonell): "He was very desperate in our cause this spring, and deserves three or four pounds." There are other entries, as follows: "An active, smart fellow. Left the Hudson's Bay Company in April last—a true partisan, steady and brave. Took a most active part in the campaign this spring, and deserves from £15 to £20. He has lost about £20 by leaving the Hudson's Bay Company a month before the expiration of his contract."

"This man left the Hudson's Bay Company in the month of April, owing to which he lost three years' wages. His behaviour towards us has been that of a true partisan—a steady, brave, and resolute man; and was something of a leading character among his countrymen, and deserves at least about £20."

But the truest of all these "partisans" appears to have been one George Campbell. This hitherto obscure personage was accordingly conspicuously honoured, as well as rewarded, by the North-West company. He was seated at table in their common hall at Fort William, next to the partners, and above the clerks of the company. Enviable distinction!

Yet it was but as the shadow of a more tangible and, doubtless to its recipient, a more valued guerdon. By direction of the partnership he received the decent sum of £100, paid to him by one of the company's clerks. In the account-book above mentioned appears Cameron's testimony to the merits of this hero. "This (George Campbell) is a very decent man, and a great partisan, who often exposed his life for the North-West company. He has been of very essential service in the transactions of Red River, and deserves at least £100, Halifax; and every other service that can be rendered him by the North-West company. Rather than that his merit and services should go unrewarded, I would give him £100 myself, although I have already been a good deal out of pocket by my campaign to Red River."

Leaves from the account-book.

One would fain linger in the common-hall at Fort William, the barbaric splendour and even opulence of whose creature comforts have been painted for us by another and gifted hand.[1]

How deeper the potations, how more turbulent the revelry, when these flushed cohorts returned to the great rendezvous of the Northmen and took their places at the board! What a victory gained over their hated rivals the Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay, and those miserable colonists despatched by their leading spirit to begin the peopling of the West! Tidings, too, came to swell their joy that the war between Great Britain and America was ended, and so further alleviated their dread of disaster.

But decisive as their triumph seemed, it was short-lived. Even in the midst of this vulgar wassail the despised settlers had returned from their brief exile, and affairs at Red River were shaping for a tragedy.

[1] Washington Irving, whose "Astoria," if not altogether reliable as history, is at least perennially delightful for its style.

CHAPTER XXXI

1816–1817

A New Brigade of Immigrants—Robert Semple—Cuthbert Grant's Letter—The De Meuron Regiment—Assembling of the Bois-Brulés—Tragedy at Seven Oaks—Selkirk at Fort William—McGillivray arrested—Arrest of the Northmen—Selkirk proceeds to Red River.

To the new brigade of emigrants which had sailed from Stromness, gloomy and portentous must have been the prospect on their arrival. They beheld their comrades and fellow-countrymen of the previous brigade, who had returned from their exile at Jack River, still gazing in wretchedness upon the embers of their burned dwellings, or seeking to rescue what produce remained in the earth for their winter's subsistence.

The ship which had brought out these immigrants had also carried an able officer of the Company, Robert Semple, a man of no small parts and culture, who had been appointed to the chief control of all the factories in Rupert's Land.

The hostile feuds and lawless proceedings of the fur-trading "partisans" had convulsed the whole

Indian country throughout its boundaries, and the arrival of more immigrants only served to add fresh fuel to the flame. It cannot be denied that as between the two rival companies, the North-Westers possessed one dangerous advantage, to wit, the authority and influence they had over the half-breeds, their own servants, and over many of the more dissolute Indians. "They had so trained and influenced these," says, with great truth, one sober trader writing of those times, "both in the school of mischief, rapine, and bloodshed, that no outrage which the unscrupulous ministers of a lawless despotism could inflict was too extravagant to dread.[1] Posts were pillaged, robberies

Influence of the Nor'-Westers over the half-breeds.

[1] There is preserved a letter from the leader of the Bois-Brulés, written to one of the partners. It bears date of 13th of March 1816, and runs as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—I received your generous and kind letter of last fall by the last canoe. I should certainly be an ungrateful being should I not return you my sincerest thanks. Although a very bad hand at writing letters, I trust to your generosity. I am yet safe and sound, thank God! For I believe it is more than Colin Robertson, or any of his suit, dare to offer the least insult to any of the Bois-Brulés, although Robertson made use of some expressions which I hope he shall swallow in the spring; he shall see that it is neither fifteen, thirty, nor fifty of your best horsemen can make the Bois-Brulés bow to him. Our people of Fort des Prairies and English River are all to be here in the spring. It is hoped we shall come off with flying colours, and never to see any of them again in the colonising way in Red River; in fact the traders shall pack off with themselves, also, for having disobeyed our orders last spring, according to our arrangements. We are all to remain at the Forks to pass the summer, for fear they should play us the same trick as last summer, of coming back; but they shall receive a warm reception. I am loath to enter into any particulars, as I am well

committed, and valuable lives sacrificed without remorse."

Instead of settling down quietly and cultivating the soil on their arrival, all the immigrants were quickly dispersed in search of a precarious subsistence at Pembina and elsewhere, as had been the case with the first unhappy brigade. They separated, to weather the storms of winter as best they might, hunting and fishing amongst the savages, and enduring every species of privation and suffering which fate could inflict upon them. As soon, however, as the snows of winter were melted, all re-assembled at the colony, and fell to with a will to the task of tilling the ground, and sowing what, alas, the fowls of the air were to reap.

No unpractical dreamer was Lord Selkirk. On the arrival of this nobleman at New York on his way to Canada to support in person the exertions of his colonists, he received intelligence of their dispersion, and the capture of his lieutenant and agent. He immediately proceeded to Montreal, where he was apprised of the danger with which the new arrivals were threatened, as well as the distress which had overtaken those settlers who had been brought into

assured that you will receive more satisfactory information (than I have had) from your other correspondents; therefore I shall not pretend to give you any, at the same time begging you will excuse my short letter, I shall conclude, wishing you health and happiness.—I shall ever remain, your most obedient humble servant,

"CUTHBERT GRANT.

"J. D. CAMERON, Esq."

Canada. The North-West company had no further use for their services, the expense of bringing them down having already proved sufficiently burdensome. The alluring promises made on the banks of the Red River, of lands, high wages, practical encouragement, were forgotten on the shores of the St. Lawrence.

Lord Selkirk arrives in Canada.

Selkirk was determined upon a rigid inquiry; and steps were taken by his agents in Upper and Lower Canada to that end. While he was thus engaged, information arrived of the re-establishment of the colony, both brigades of immigrants having made a junction at Red River, on the departure of Cameron and McDonell. Lord Selkirk despatched a messenger[1] to the settlers at Red River to announce his speedy arrival amongst them, and renewed his endeavour to obtain from the Governor of Canada, Sir Gordon Drummond, some small military protection for the settlers. His application was curtly refused. One, if not the principal reason of this refusal was

[1] This messenger, Lagimoniere by name, was waylaid and robbed by the North-Westers. He had previously made a hazardous winter journey of upwards of 2000 miles for the purpose of bringing to Montreal intelligence of the re-establishment of the Red River Colony. He was now attacked near Fond du Lac by some native hunters employed by the North-West company, who beat him in a shocking manner, besides plundering him of his despatches, his canoe and all his effects. The order to intercept him was issued on the 2nd of June by Norman McLeod from Fort William; and the Indians who performed the service were credited in the books of the partnership with the sum of $100. Several of Lord Selkirk's letters were afterwards recovered at Fort William.

Drummond's dread of lowering his popularity by exerting his influence against the North-West company. The attempt proving fruitless, a new resource offered itself, and this Selkirk was not loath to seize.

As a result of the termination of hostilities with America, the hired European regiments of De Meuron, Watteville, and the Glengarry Fencibles in Canada were reduced. The privates, as well as their officers, were entitled on their discharge to grants of lands in Canada, and in the event of their accepting these, the members of the two first-mentioned regiments were not to be sent back to Europe.

The regiments to which these men belonged were part of a body of German mercenaries raised during the Napoleonic wars. Col. De Meuron, one of its most illustrious officers, bequeathed his name to one of the regiments. Though Germans for the most part, Swiss and Piedmontese were also numbered amongst them. While the great Corsican was languishing at Elba, the De Meurons were equally inactive at Malta, but in the war which had broken out between England and the American States there was plenty of work for their swords. They were shipped to Canada, and in 1816, hostilities having ceased, they were again out of employment.

Regiment of De Meuron.

Lord Selkirk perceived in them a most providential instrument. He sent for their officers, four in number, Captains d'Orsonnens and Matthey, and Lieutenants

Fauché and Graffenreith, and informed them he had need of them. They listened and agreed on behalf of their men to his terms. Hastening in boats up the St. Lawrence, at Kingston they encountered twenty other foreign soldiers belonging to the De Watteville regiment, and also victims of peace. These were engaged on the same terms.

Eighty men, then, and four officers of De Meuron's regiment, twenty of Watteville's, and several of the Glengarry Fencibles, with one of their officers, instead of remaining in Canada preferred going to the Red River settlement on the terms proposed by Lord Selkirk. They were to receive pay at a certain rate per month for navigating the canoes up to Red River, were to have lands assigned to them at the settlement, and if they did not elect to remain were to be conveyed at his lordship's expense to Europe by way of Hudson's Bay.

Whatever we may now think of the motive prompting the employment of these men, it must be conceded that it was effected with propriety and an ingenious formality. They being discharged could no longer be held soldiers. They retained their clothing, as was usual in such cases, and Lord Selkirk furnished them with arms, as he had done to his other settlers. Had there existed a disposition to criticise this latter measure, ample justification was to be found in the instructions of the Board of Ordnance, in 1813, to issue some field-pieces and a considerable number of muskets and ammunition for the use of the Red River colony.

With this body of men Selkirk proceeded into the interior. While he was on the march, the colony on Red River had apprehensions of alarming consequences. Cameron and McDonell, the two North-West partners, had arrived the previous autumn and, astonished at the temerity of the settlers in returning to the forbidden spot, had very promptly taken measures to molest and discourage them. Thereupon the Hudson's Bay factor, Colin Robertson, who, in Governor MacDonnell's absence, had placed himself at their head, planned an attack upon Fort Gibraltar, which he seized by surprise in the month of October. He thus recovered two of the field-pieces and thirty stand of arms, which had been abstracted from the settlement in the previous year. In this capture no blood was shed, and although Cameron was made prisoner he was released upon a promise to behave peaceably in future, being even reinstated in possession of his fort. But this posture of affairs was not long to endure.

Fort Gibraltar captured.

Early in March Governor Semple journeyed west to inspect the forts on the Assiniboine, Lake Manitoba, and Swan Lake, leaving Robertson in command. The latter, suspecting a plot on the part of Cameron and his North-Westers, instantly intercepted some letters, which transformed suspicion into conviction. He therefore attacked the North-West post, took Cameron prisoner, and removed all the arms, trading goods, furs, books, and papers, to Fort

Douglas.[1] He furthermore informed his enemy that being situated at the confluence of the two rivers, the Red and the Assiniboine, Fort Gibraltar was the key to the position, and could be in no other hands but those of the lords of the soil. Following up this move, Robertson attacked the North-West post on the Pembina River, captured Bostonnais Pangman, who was in charge, with two clerks and six voyageurs, who were afterwards incarcerated in Fort Douglas. Pursuing his advantage an attempt was made to carry Fort Qu'Appelle. But McDonell, who was in command there, displayed considerable force, and caused the Hudson's Bay people to retire.

About this period five flat-bottomed boats belonging to the Company, laden with pemmican and from thirty to forty packs of furs, under charge of James Sutherland, were *en route* to Fort Douglas. McDonell, advised of the circumstance, intercepted and seized the whole, retaining two factors, Bird and Pambrun, as prisoners. A canoe was given to Sutherland and the others, who with a scanty supply of pemmican, were then allowed to continue their journey to the fort. On receiving intelligence of this proceeding, as well as of the plots being hatched by the half-breeds

[1] Semple is said, on the authority of an eye-witness, Donald Murray, yet living in 1891 (when a monument was erected at Winnipeg to commemorate the Red River tragedy), to have disapproved of Robertson's management during his absence. This veteran was fond of relating that when Robertson started for York Factory in a boat, taking Duncan Cameron a prisoner, he insultingly hoisted a pemmican sack instead of the British flag.

and their allies in the West, Robertson concluded that Cameron would be best out of a region where his influence for evil might be exercised; his prisoner was accordingly sent off under guard to York Factory, from whence he reached England seventeen months later. Ultimately he was released without a trial, afterwards returning to Canada, where he spent the remainder of his years.

The enemy were no sooner out of Fort Gibraltar than Robertson caused the walls to be pulled down. All the useful material was rafted down the river to Fort Douglas, where it was employed in new erections within that post.

McDonell now exerted himself to the utmost to assemble the half-breeds from every quarter, for the purpose of a final extermination of the colony at Red River. Many of these were collected from a very distant part of the country; some from Cumberland House and also from the Upper Saskatchewan, at least seven hundred miles from the settlement. Reports had reached the colonists, of whom there were, all told, about two hundred, that the Bois-Brulés were assembling in all parts of the north for the purpose of driving them away. Each day increased the prevalence of these rumours. The hunters, and the free Canadians who had supplied them with provisions, were terrified at the prospect of the punishment they might receive at the hands of the violent North-Westers.

Plan to exterminate the Red River settlement.

About the close of May the North-Wester, Alexander McDonell, embarked in his boats with the furs and bags of provisions which he had seized, as just related, from the Hudson's Bay people. He was attended by a body of the half-breeds on horseback, who followed him along the banks of the river.

When the party arrived near the chief Hudson's Bay Company's post, Brandon House, Cuthbert Grant was sent ahead with twenty-five men, who seized the post and pillaged it, not only of all the English goods, together with the furs and provisions belonging to the Company, but also of the private property of their servants, which was distributed amongst the French and half-breeds. The latter were now eager for the forcible overthrow of the settlement. Accordingly, on the 18th of June, Cuthbert Grant, Lacerte, Frazer, Hoole, and McKay were sent off from Portage la Prairie with about seventy men, to attack the colony at Red River. McDonell himself, foreseeing the issue, prudently remained behind.[1]

The tidings he anticipated would arrive were not long delayed. On the 20th of June a messenger, covered with sweat, returned from Cuthbert Grant, to

[1] The route taken by the Bois-Brulés was along the edge of the swamps, about two miles out on the prairie from Fort Douglas, and from that point gradually drawing nearer to the main highway, which is now the northern continuation of Winnipeg's main street, until it effected a junction at a spot known as Seven Oaks. The name was derived from the circumstance of seven good-sized oak trees growing there, about one hundred yards south of a small rivulet, now known as Inkster's Creek.

report that his party had killed Governor Semple, with five of his officers and sixteen of his people. At this welcome news of the consummation of their fondest hopes, McDonell and the other officers shouted with joy. No time was lost in spreading the story. The unhappy Pambrun, from his confinement, could distinctly hear the cries of the French and half-breeds, which they caught up again and again in a paroxysm of triumph.

"Sacré nom de Dieu! Bonne Nouvelles! Vingt-deux Anglais de tués!"

The story of this tragedy of the plains, to which for a time was cynically applied the term, "battle," has been often and variously narrated; but the facts seem clear enough. Semple, the Governor, was on the point of returning to York Factory on the concerns of the Company, when the rumours of immediate hostility, which have been described, checked his departure. Measures of precaution were adopted and a watch regularly kept to guard against surprise. On the 17th of June two Cree Indians, who had escaped from the party of North-Westers under McDonell, came to the Governor at Fort Douglas, adjoining the settlement, with the intelligence that he would certainly be attacked in two days by the Bois-Brulés under Cuthbert Grant, who were determined to take the fort, and that if any resistance were made, neither man, woman, nor child would escape.

The affair at Seven Oaks.

Peguis, chief of the Swampy Indians, who came

periodically to the district about the mouth of the Red River, also waited on Governor Semple for the purpose of offering the services of his tribe, about seventy in number, to assist in the colonists' protection.

A conflict seemed inevitable. On the afternoon of the 19th a man in the watch-house called out that the half-breeds were coming. Governor Semple and his officers surveyed the neighbouring plains through their telescopes and made out the approach of some men on horseback. These were not, however, headed in the direction of the fort, but of the settlement.

Semple's words were: "We must go out and meet these people; let twenty men follow me." They proceeded by the frequented path leading to the settlement. As they went along they met many of the colonists, who were running towards them, crying: "The Bois-Brulés! The Bois-Brulés!" An advance was made of about one mile, when some persons on horseback were discerned in ambush close at hand, and the Governor, somewhat uneasy at the signs of their numbers, had just decided to send for a field-piece, when a fearful clamour pierced the air, and he saw it was too late. The half-breeds galloped forward, their faces painted most hideously, and all dressed in the Indian fashion.[1] They surrounded

[1] Their being painted and disguised is clearly proof of a premeditation to commit hostilities. It was not the custom of the Indians or Bois-Brulés to paint themselves, except on warlike occasions. Seeing this party of horsemen were proceeding towards the settlement, Semple directed about twenty men to follow him in the direction they

the Hudson's Bay people in the form of a half-moon. As they advanced the latter party retreated, and a North-West employee named Boucher rode up very close to Governor Semple and asked what he wanted there? To this inquiry, which was delivered in a very authoritative and insolent tone, Semple replied by demanding of Boucher what he and his party wished. Boucher said: "We want our fort," and the Governor's answer was: "Well, go to your fort." In a loud tone came the other's rejoinder: "You d—d rascal, you have destroyed our fort." Semple, a man of extremely mild manners and cultivated mind, flushed with indignation at such an address, and incautiously laid hand upon the bridle of Boucher's horse, according to some; of his gun, according to others. A few high words were exchanged. Two shots rang out in quick succession, by the first of which Holt fell, and by the second Semple received a mortal wound.[1] In a few minutes the vicinity was strewn with bleeding forms; almost all Semple's men were either killed or wounded. Save in a single instance, no quarter was given; the injured were summarily despatched, and

Killing of Governor Semple.

had taken to ascertain what was their object. These took arms with them, but no ammunition. That Semple and his party went out with no hostile intention is evident from there being but twenty who went, whereas a much greater number who could have gone and were desirous of going were left behind.

[1] After the tragedy many of the settlers are said to have been of the opinion that the first shot was fired by Lieutenant Holt, whose gun went off by accident, thus precipitating the conflict.

on the bodies of the dead were practised all the revolting horrors which characterise the inhuman heart of the savage.[1]

In all twenty-one persons were killed, the remaining eight escaping to the woods. Besides Governor Semple, Lieutenant Holt, Captain Rogers, Dr. James White, and Dr. Wilkinson, the Governor's private secretary, were amongst the dead.

Immediately every human being at Fort Douglas was plunged into confusion and dismay. The survivors, hastily returning, told their tale, and men, women, and children crowded together seeking protection within its walls. Bourke and a few of his companions had succeeded in regaining the fort with the cannon he had taken out. All waited for further attack on the part of the North-Westers. An anxious night was passed, but no attack came, and it was afterwards learnt that the Bois-Brulés were animated by a wholesome dread of the cannon in the hands of the settlers.

Pritchard, who had been taken a prisoner to the camp ground of the main body of the half-breeds, now begged Cuthbert Grant, the leader, to be allowed to

[1] While the affair was sufficiently horrible, there was yet room for exaggeration in the tales of the survivors. "On my arrival at the fort," declared Pritchard, "what a scene of distress presented itself! The widows, children, and relations of the slain, in the horrors of despair, were lamenting the dead and trembling for the safety of the survivors." It is to be noted that only one actual settler was killed, and I cannot discover that the others had any white women-folk amongst them.

visit Fort Douglas. After securing the leader's consent, he met with a refusal on the part of the others, until he gave a promise to bear a message of eviction to the colonists and to speedily return. Grant accompanied the prisoner on parole as far as Seven Oaks, where the ground was still strewn with the corpses of the slain.

On reaching Fort Douglas, Pritchard informed the unhappy settlers that they must depart, which if they did immediately a safe escort would be provided them, and they would be permitted to take all their personal effects. They were told that two other groups of North-Westers were daily expected to arrive in the locality, one hailing from the Saskatchewan, and the other party from Lake Superior. It would therefore be necessary to send some of the Bois-Brulés with them, to explain the situation.

The Nor'-Westers demand evacuation.

At first the colonists refused to listen to these terms. Miles MacDonnell, who was again in charge of the settlement, resolved to hold the fort as long as the men were disposed to guard it. But they were not long of this courageous temper. After fully considering the situation, the settlers concluded to depart, and after several conferences between the sheriff and Cuthbert Grant, a capitulation was arranged.

An inventory of all the property was taken, and the whole delivered up to the half-breed leader, for the use

of the North-West company, each sheet of the inventory being signed as follows:—

"Received on account of the North-West company by me, Cuthbert Grant, Clerk for the N.-West co"

In two days the colonists, in all nearly two hundred, were ready to embark for Hudson's Bay. Albeit they had not been long on the voyage down the river when they were met by Norman McLeod, one of the leading spirits of the North-West company, accompanied by a large party in canoes. At sight of the settlers, the North-Westers set up an Indian war-whoop, and when they drew sufficiently near, McLeod, who posed as a magistrate, is said to have inquired whether "that rascal and scoundrel Robertson was in the boats." The colloquy, of which this was the pleasant opening, was followed by a seizure of the accounts and papers of the settlers, including some of Governor Semple's letters. Of these they kept what they deemed proper, and returned the rest. McLeod took his magistracy very seriously, and seems to have regarded the whole party as his prisoners. He expressed neither horror nor regret at the murder of Semple and his companions, but ordered Sheriff MacDonnell, Pritchard, Bourke, Corcoran, Heden, and McKay to be arrested and put under a strong guard. MacDonnell was liberated on bail, but the others were treated for nearly a week with the greatest indignity. Nevertheless, in spite of their brazen behaviour, the North-Westers felt themselves in a dangerous plight.

Arrest of colonists.

The five men thus made prisoners were, after various delays and after two of them had been put in irons, conveyed to Fort William. They had not long been inmates of quarters at this great post, when McLeod and his party arrived there. With him came a number of the Bois-Brulés, Semple's murderers, bearing a portion of the plunder which had been reserved for the North-West company. Their arrival was the signal for rejoicing. The air was filled with impromptu songs and ballads commemorative of the happy event, which swept away the colony on the Red River. The "complete downfall" desired by the North-West partner seemed to have been consummated.

It is difficult to imagine, as one visits Fort William to-day, that it was once the abode of industry, of gaiety, of opulence, and even of splendour. It boasted a fashionable season, which continued from May to late in August, and during this period the fur aristocracy, the *bourgeoisie* and the *canaille*, met and mingled in a picturesque carnival of mirth, feasting, and exultation.

It was the meeting-place between the Montreal partners and voyageurs, and those who coursed the boundless expanse of the distant West. To the wintering clerks and partners, after their hardships and fasts in the interior, this entrepôt seemed a foretaste of Paradise, and a hundred journals of a hundred traders tell again the tale of a dream of distant Fort William, which, in the midst of cold,

hunger, and desolation, cheered the wanderer's heart and lightened his burdens. For the voyageurs it was all in all. To reach Fort William, enjoy the carnival, and betwixt drink and riotous living dissipate the hard-earned wages of years was to them often the happiness of earth and heaven combined.

It was in the great dining-hall that there centred the chief glory of Fort William. Of noble proportions was it, and capable of entertaining two hundred persons, and here fully two hundred sat when the news from Red River reached them. We can to-day conjure up the scene. There on a glittering pedestal looked down on the joyous company a marble bust of Simon McTavish; while ever and anon the eye of some struggling clerk, or ambitious partner, would be attracted by a row of paintings, depicting to the life the magnates of the North, and rest with ecstasy upon those portly forms and rubicund cheeks, cheerful prophecies of his own roseate future. Not all were portraits of opulent Northmen—other heroes lent the glory of their visages to this spacious hall—the King in his majesty, the Prince Regent, and Admiral the Lord Nelson. A gigantic painting of the memorable battle of the Nile also adorned the walls. At the upper end hung a huge map of the Indian country, drawn by David Thompson, he who had written at the crisis of his career, "To-day I left the services of the Hudson's Bay Company to join the North-West, and *may God*

Fort William described.

help me!" On this extraordinary production were inscribed in characters bold enough to be seen by the humblest *engagé* at the farthest end of the great hall, the whole number of the Company's trading posts from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific Ocean, from Sault Ste. Marie to Athabasca and the great Slave Lake. Many a time and oft, while the feast was at its height and the wine bottles of the partners were being broached and the rum puncheons tapped, was a glance cast at some spot on that map which marked months of suffering, the death place of a comrade, the love of an Indian maiden, a thrilling adventure, a cruel massacre, painful solitude, rejoicing, disappointment, or, mayhap, overwhelming disaster.

But if the scene within was noisy and animated, that without beggars description. Hundreds of voyageurs, soldiers, Indians, and half-breeds were encamped together in the open, holding high revel. They hailed from all over the globe—England, Ireland, Scotland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, America, the African Gold Coast, the Sandwich Islands, Bengal, Canada, with Creoles, various tribes of Indians, and a mixed progeny of Bois-Brulés or half-breeds! "Here," cries one trader, "were congregated on the shores of the inland sea, within the walls of Fort William, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Sun-worshippers, men from all parts of the world whose creeds were 'wide as poles asunder,' united in one common object, and

bowing down before the same idol." Women, soldiers, voyageurs, and Indians, in ever-moving medley, danced, sang, drank, and gambolled about the fort on the night when the news came of the tragedy of the Red River.

But Nemesis was not idly reposing. The Earl of Selkirk, it will be remembered, was on his way, with his party of about eighty soldiers, to the scene of this rude rejoicing. When Sault Ste. Marie was reached, the first intelligence of the massacre and destruction of the colony was received, together with the news that some of the settlers and a large part of the property had been transported to Fort William.

Filled with indignation, and determined to demand reparation for so bloody a deed, the Earl pressed on with all haste to the picturesque rendezvous of the Northmen, who, all unconscious of his approach, had made no plan either to defend themselves or to arrest his progress.

Upon his arrival in the vicinity many favourable to the Company came out to meet him and relate the present state of affairs. As a magistrate for the country, he secured a number of affidavits disclosing such circumstances of conspiracy and participation on the part of the North-Westers as determined him, as was his duty, to issue warrants for their arrest. These were accordingly issued, first for the apprehension of William McGillivray, the principal partner, and next for that of all the other partners.

Selkirk arrives at Fort William.

A great many of the North-West partners were at this time assembled at Fort William, and amongst them was William McGillivray, their principal agent in Canada. Lord Selkirk immediately despatched a message to that gentleman, desiring to know by what authority and for what reason Pritchard, Pambrun, Nolin, and others from Red River were detained as prisoners in their hands. McGillivray's response was to grant permission to most of these prisoners to join Selkirk, to whom he denied they had been detained, save as witnesses. The liberated men flew to the Earl, asserting that they had all suffered for some time a rigorous confinement. The intelligence they conveyed was of such a nature as to induce Selkirk to issue warrants for the arrest of most of the North-West partners then at Fort William.

The first to be arrested was McGillivray, who submitted with the best possible grace to the warrant. Two other partners who came over with him, to offer themselves on bail (which was refused), were also taken into custody. Instructions were given to the constables to again cross the river, accompanied by some of the soldiers, to apprehend the other delinquents. On their landing, four or five of the Northmen were standing close to the gate of the fort, surrounded by a considerable body of French-Canadians, Indians, and half-breeds in the North-West company's employment. The warrants were served upon two of the partners in the usual form; the

constable was proceeding to arrest a third, when this man declared there should be no further submission to any warrant until McGillivray was liberated. At the same instant an attempt was made to shut the gate and prevent the constables from entering. The garrison had succeeded in shutting one half of the gate, and had almost closed the other by force, when the chief constable called out for help from the soldiers. These to the number of about thirty forthwith rushed to the spot, and so forced their way into the stronghold of the Northmen.

Arrest of the North-West partners.

The notes of a bugle now rang out across the river. The Earl understood the signal, and a fresh force of forty trained mercenaries hurried quickly over the stream to join their comrades. Awed by the apparition of so many arms and uniforms, the North-Westers abandoned further resistance, and bloodshed was thus happily averted. The partner who had refused obedience to the warrant was seized and taken forcibly to the boats, the others submitting peaceably to arrest.

At the time this episode was in progress, there were about two hundred French-Canadians and half-breeds, and sixty or seventy Iroquois Indians in and at the gates of the fort.

A warrant having been issued to search for and secure the North-West papers, seals were in due course put upon these, and guards placed for their security. The arrested men were transported to the

Earl's camp; but upon their pledging their word of honour that no further attempt should be made to obstruct the execution of the law, and that all hostile measures should be renounced, they were permitted that same night to return to their apartments at Fort William.

Vain reliance! It was discovered next morning that the seals had been broken in several places, and that many letters and papers had been burnt in the kitchen in the course of the night. More than this, a canoe loaded with arms and ammunition had been launched and several barrels of gunpowder secretly conveyed from the fort. This gunpowder was afterwards traced to a place of concealment amongst some brushwood close at hand. About fifty or sixty stand of Indian guns, to all appearance freshly loaded and primed, were found hidden under some hay in a barn adjoining the fort.

Owing to these discoveries, and suspecting treachery on the part of the Canadians and Indians, the greater part of the latter were ordered to evacuate the premises and pitch their tents on the opposite side of the river. Having seen this carried out, and having secured all the canoes of the enemy, Selkirk and his party crossed and pitched their tents before the fort and there mounted guard. Soon after, the North-West prisoners were sent off under escort to York, and finally reached Montreal in a state of mind not difficult to conceive.

Thus did Lord Selkirk capture Fort William. He

himself, writing in 1817, observes that, "in the execution of his duty as a Magistrate," he had become possessed of "a fort which had served, the last of any in the British dominions, as an asylum for banditti and murderers, and the receptacle for their plunder. A fort which nothing less than the express and special license of his Majesty could authorise subjects to hold. A fort which had served as the capital and seat of Government to the traitorously assumed sovereignty of the North-West. A fort whose possession could have enabled the North-West company to have kept back all evidence of their crimes."

"Heretofore," exclaims the Earl, "those who in the execution of the laws obtained possession of such strongholds as served for the retreat of banditti or murderers, were considered to have rendered a national service, and were rewarded with public gratitude and thanks."

It can hardly be supposed that the North-West partners, or their attendant clerks and voyageurs, were animated by any such sentiments.

"That canting rascal and hypocritical villain, Lord Selkirk, has got possession of our post at Fort William," was the phrase employed by one of the aggrieved partners. "Well, we will have him out of that fort," he pursued warmly, "as the Hudson's Bay knaves shall be cleared, bag and baggage, out of the North-West. And this in short order, mark my words."

But his lordship was by no means of so accommodating a temper, nor was there anything to accelerate his abandonment of the post. Finding it too late to continue his journey on to Red River, he despatched a party of his men in advance, and himself resolved to pass the winter as pleasantly and profitably as circumstances would permit at Fort William.

Selkirk winters at Fort William.

McGillivray and his companions, upon reaching Montreal, were greeted by an assembled host of their friends. Public opinion there, whatever it might be in other quarters, was in their favour. On all sides one heard philippics pronounced against Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company, and scant sympathy for the victims of the massacre. The North-Westers were instantly admitted to bail, and warrants were sworn out for the Earl's arrest. A constable was sent to Fort William to execute them, but on his arrival found himself made prisoner, and his authority treated with contempt. In a few days he was released and ordered to return to those who had sent him on so unprofitable an errand.

Lord Selkirk was by no means idle at Fort William. He sent out parties to capture other North-West posts, and in this way the forts of Fond du Lac, Michipicoten and Lac la Pluie fell into his hands. The month of May arrived and found the Earl ready to take up anew his journey to the West.

CHAPTER XXXII

1817–1821

THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT INTERVENES—SELKIRK AT RED RIVER —MAKES A TREATY WITH THE INDIANS—HOSTILITIES AT PEACE RIVER—GOVERNOR WILLIAMS MAKES ARRESTS—FRANKLIN AT YORK FACTORY—THE DUKE OF RICHMOND INTERFERES—TRIAL OF SEMPLE'S MURDERERS—DEATH OF SELKIRK—AMALGAMATION.

TIDINGS of the brutal massacre[1] of the 19th of June, and the subsequent acts of robbery and bloodshed in the wilderness, duly reached London. The Imperial authorities were awakened to the necessity of at once terminating a strife which had now become chronic. In February 1817, therefore, while Lord Selkirk was still at Fort William, the Governor-General of Canada received a despatch from the Home Government, which contained the following passage:—

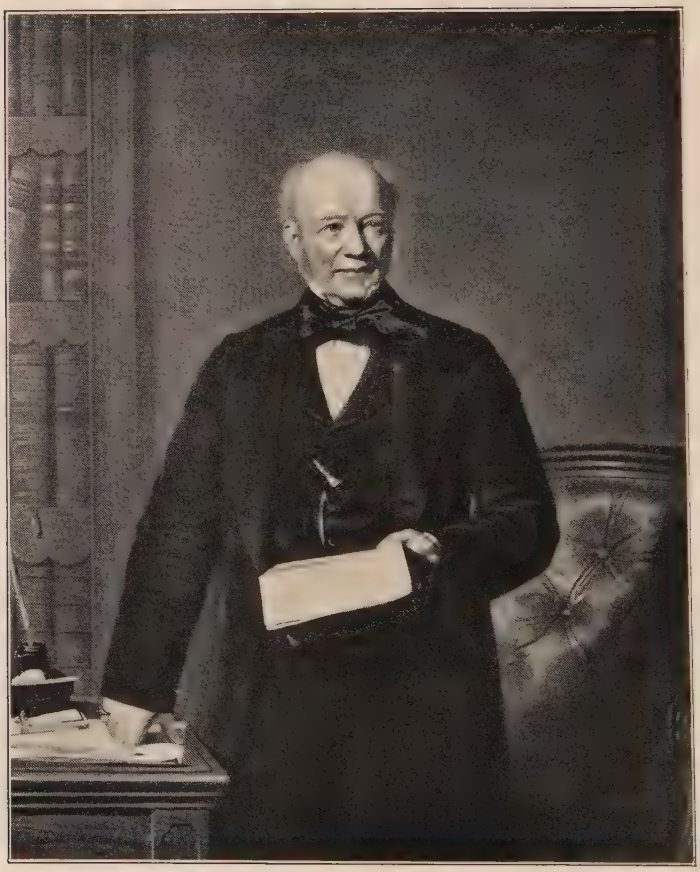
"You will also require, under similar penalties, a restitution of all forts, buildings, and trading stations, with the property which they contain, which may have been seized, or taken possession of by either party, to the party who originally established or

[1] The Governor had a long conference with Earl Bathurst regarding this crime. Ann and Helen Semple, sisters to the murdered Governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land, were by the Company granted annuities of £50 each from the date of his death.

constructed the same, and who were in possession of them previous to the recent disputes between the two companies. You will also require the removal of any blockade or impediment by which any party may have attempted to prevent the free passage of traders, or other of his Majesty's subjects, or the natives of the country, with their merchandise, furs, provisions or other effects throughout the lakes, rivers, roads, and every other usual route or communication heretofore used for the purpose of the fur-trade in the interior of North America, and the full and free permission of all persons to pursue their usual and accustomed trade without hindrance or molestation."

The Governor-General appointed Colonel Coltman and Major Fletcher, two military personages of high character, to act as commissioners, in order to carry out the Imperial Government's intentions. Coltman and Fletcher left Montreal in the same month that Selkirk evacuated Fort William. No sooner had the Earl and his party left this great trading post than the Sheriff of Upper Canada arrived, and by virtue of a writ of restitution took possession and restored it to its original owners. The commissioners, confronted by this fact, continued their journey on to Red River, arriving at Fort Douglas while Lord Selkirk was still in the locality. They proceeded to execute their commission, and to endeavour to restore the region to law and order. The merchandise, provisions, and furs were in the course of the summer apportioned to their respective proprietors; the channels of communication were

Fort William restored to the Nor'-Westers.



SIR GEORGE SIMPSON

From an engraving after a picture by STEPHEN PEARCE

opened, and in time the commissioners were enabled to return to Canada, flattering themselves with the hope that the orders of the Prince Regent would be everywhere obeyed. The commissioners made a most circumstantial report of their mission, of which both parties complained that neither had received justice, which (as Senator Masson truly observes) was a very good reason for supposing that the report was just and impartial.

Unhappily, their hope was not destined to be fulfilled. Fort Gibraltar had been destroyed, but the North-Westers at once set about erecting buildings for carrying on their trade. Selkirk devoted himself meanwhile to the affairs of his colony, making provision for the soldiers of the De Meuron and Watteville regiments according to the contract mutually entered into. He allotted each man a plot of land either in the vicinity of Fort Douglas, or on the other side of the river, close at hand; and the officers were stationed amongst them. The result was that in case of any necessity arising, a signal from headquarters would enable the whole body to join their commanders in the fort at short notice. Everything was effected which, in his opinion, could conduce to the well-being of the colony. Selkirk now turned his attention to the Indians, whom he called together within the walls of the fort, and after bestowing amongst them presents, concluded the following treaty with them:—

"This Indenture, made on the 18th day of July, in the fifty-seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King George

the Third, and in the year of our Lord 1817, between the undersigned Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation, and of the Killistins or Cree Nation, on the one part, and the Right Honourable Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, on the other part. Witnesseth, that for and in consideration of the annual present or quit rent hereinafter mentioned, the said Chiefs have given, granted, and confirmed, and do by these presents give, grant, and confirm unto our Sovereign Lord, the King, all that tract of land adjacent to Red River and Assiniboine River, beginning at the mouth of the Red River, and extending along the same as far as the great Forks at the mouth of the Red Lake River, and along Assiniboine River as far as Musk-Rat River, otherwise called Riviere des Champignons, and extending to the distance of six miles from Fort Douglas on every side, and likewise from Fort Daer (Pembina), and also from the Great Forks, and in other parts extending in the breadth to the distance of two English statute miles back from the banks of the said rivers on each side, together with all the appurtenances whatsoever of the said tract of land, to have and to hold for ever the said tract of land and appurtenances, to the use of the said Earl of Selkirk, and of the settlers being established thereon, with the consent and permission of our Sovereign Lord, the King, or of the said Earl of Selkirk. Provided always that these presents are under the express condition that the Earl, his heirs and successors, or their agents, shall annually pay to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Chippeway or Saulteaux Nation the present, or quit-rent, consisting of one hundred pounds' weight of good merchantable tobacco, to be delivered on or before the tenth day of October at the Forks of the Assiniboine River; and to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Kinstineaux or Cree Nation a like present, or quit-rent, of one hundred pounds of tobacco, to be delivered to them on or before the said tenth day of October at Portage de la Prairie, on the banks of Assiniboine River. Provided always

Treaty with Red River Indians.

that the traders hitherto established upon any part of the above-mentioned tract of land shall not be molested in the possession of the lands which they have already cultivated and improved, till his Majesty's pleasure shall be known.

"In witness whereof the Chiefs aforesaid have set their marks at the Forks of Red River on the day aforesaid.

"Signed, SELKIRK.

"Signed in presence of Thomas Thomas, James Bird, F. Matthey, Captain; P. D. Orsonnens, Captain; Miles MacDonnell, J. Bate, Chr. De Lovimier, Louis Nolin, Interpreter; and the following Chiefs, each of whom made his mark, being a rude outline of some animal.

"Moche W. Keocab (Le Sonent); Ouckidoat (Premier *alias* Grande Oreilles); Mechudewikonaie (La Robe Noire); Kayajickebinoa (L'Homme Noir); Pegawis."

As a matter of fact, the Saulteaux Indians, who were given precedence in the above treaty, had no real claim to the lands on the Red River, which were possessed by the Crees alone. This latter tribe afterwards took great offence at this circumstance, and made various threats to recede from their covenant and claim their lands from the settlers. These threats, however, were not carried out. Selkirk having in this manner promoted peace and concord bade farewell to Red River, and accompanied by a guide and a few friends directed his course southward across the frontier into American territory. He made his way to New York and there embarked for England.

It has been remarked that his Majesty's commissioners flattered themselves that in the formal and

peaceful manner described, law and order was to be introduced into the North-West. It is true that the proclamation of the Prince Regent and the creation of the commission of inquiry had quieted much of the turbulence, and that all who came in contact with the recognised officers were ready to submit to their authority; but this was by no means the case in the more remotely situated departments.

Attack on Fort Vermilion.

Governor Robertson, Semple's lieutenant, had delegated his authority to Clarke, another ex-employee of the North-West company. This trader now sought upon Lord Selkirk's authority to penetrate, with an effective force and a quantity of merchandise, into the very heart of the territory occupied by the North-Westers. One of Clarke's first acts on arriving at Peace River was to attack Fort Vermilion, with the design of acquiring a supply of provisions; but here he met with so vigorous a resistance that he was constrained to beat a retreat without having succeeded in his project. On the other hand, two partners, Black and McGillivray, on the pretence that Robertson had incited the savages to massacre some of their number, and that their men would refuse to serve if an example were not made, took him prisoner to Fort Athabasca, and there confined him during an entire winter. There were numerous examples of the abuse of force and the utter abandonment to lawlessness during this and the following year.

As upon most of the Northmen named in the warrants issued at the instance of the Earl of Selkirk, it had been impossible to serve papers owing to their absence in the distant fur country, Williams, Semple's successor as Governor of the colony of Assiniboia, was consumed with a desire to effect himself the arrest of all those persons. It is likely that he also wished to avenge the incarceration of Robertson. Taking with him a number of De Meuron soldiers and two pieces of cannon, Governor Williams departed to lie in ambush for the North-Westers at a portage called Grand Rapids, which spot it was necessary for the enemy to pass in order to enter Lake Winnipeg.

Arrest of Nor'-Westers.

Little did the North-Westers suspect what was in store for them. Otherwise they would have travelled in a large body, not, as was the case, in small detachments and successively, often at an interval of several days.

As fast as they arrived, Williams of the Company and his soldiers were on the watch. It was new work to the veterans, but no one could accuse them of not entering upon it with zest and spirit. The North-Westers were by them seized and disarmed, even subjected to considerable violence. Some were permitted to continue their route; others were despatched to York Factory on the Bay. Here they were, during many weeks, detained as prisoners and treated with scant courtesy. The arrival of Lieut. John Franklin, a British naval officer, who was then about to under-

take a land voyage to the Arctic Sea, and who had in his possession several letters of introduction to partners in the North-West company, brought about a happy alteration in their case. The great consideration which he evinced for the Hudson's Bay Company's prisoners was much in their favour. McTavish and Shaw, two of the North-West partners, were granted permission to return to England as passengers on the ship which had brought Franklin, but the others were not so lucky. Campbell was, it is true, sent to Canada, *via* Moose Factory and Michipicoten, and there placed at liberty. But although against the bravest of the captured Northmen, Benjamin Frobisher, there was no accusation or warrant of arrest, it was felt that he should not escape punishment for his long hostility to the Company, as well as for the violent and crafty resistance which he had offered in the first instance to his arrest. Frobisher is described as a man of great strength and herculean stature. On numerous occasions he had had the good or ill-fortune to come in contact with the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company, and there were many to testify that he had on such occasions not emerged with the loss either of prestige or property. Their captive at last, and suffering from a severe wound in the head, his whole soul was centred upon escape. The nearest North-West post was distant about five hundred miles as the crow flies, but this circumstance had little power to quench his project of flight. Two of his voyageur com-

panions, Turcotte and Lépine, endeavoured to dissuade him, but without success; and at length they consented to participate in the escape if it were possible to elude the vigilance of their captors. They succeeded in doing this on the 30th September; they launched themselves in an old canoe, in which were stored some pounds of pemmican saved from their rations, and so commenced their painful journey.

For two whole months these three fugitives from York Factory travelled through the wilderness. They suffered from cold and hunger, devouring the very buffalo skins that the Indians had left suspended in the trees as an indication of their route. At last the wounded Frobisher arrived at such a state of weakness that he was fain to lie down without further power of exertion, although he was then not more than two days' journey from Lac L'Orignal, near Lake Bourbon, where the North-Westers had a post. Frobisher begged his companions, whose greater power of endurance and devotion to their superior had led them to carry him on their shoulders, to depart and seek assistance. This they did, after having deposited their burden at the side of a fire, and grilled a morsel of buffalo skin for his nourishment. Four days later they reached the fort, but a search party did not arrive on the spot until the 27th of November. Their eyes were greeted by the corpse of Frobisher, partly burnt, and extended at full length on the

Flight of prisoners from York Factory.

ground. Within his scanty clothing was found a journal, which he had kept ever since his arrest at Grand Rapids, and in which he had recorded his daily sufferings.[1]

After considerable delay the news of Frobisher's capture and miserable death was spread throughout the West. A courier arrived at Fort William in hot haste with details of the affair at Grand Rapids. The utmost indignation prevailed, but many of the partners, fearing a descent of the Hudson's Bay soldiery, left in disorder for Montreal. The agents of the concern instantly addressed themselves to the Duke of Richmond, then Governor of Canada, representing to him that if the civil authorities did not interfere to compel respect for the orders of the Prince Regent, the fortunes of the North-West co-partnery would suffer a great and irreparable blow.

The Duke was then at Little York. He lost no time in despatching one of the officers of his suite, Major McLeod, with a budget of despatches for delivery at the chief forts of the North-West, in which he enjoined obedience to the laws. McLeod was accompanied at the last moment by Sir Charles Saxton.

The envoys of the Governor reached Fort William and pressed on to the Grand Rapids, where they learned that Williams had raised the blockade of the river, and had left for the Bay with his soldiers

[1] Benjamin Frobisher was a native of York, England.

and prisoners. It was too late in the autumn to follow them: there was nothing left but to arrange to have their despatches forwarded to the parties in the interior, and to return immediately to Little York. The alarm of the partners in Canada was matched by that of their agents in London. They addressed themselves to the Imperial Government, soliciting his Majesty's interference in order to put an end to the outrages and lawlessness, as they expressed it, of Lord Selkirk and the Hudson's Bay Company. They recalled that they had often demanded that the rights of the Company should be submitted to law, and warned the authorities that when their rivals mocked the orders of the Prince Regent, it would be impossible for themselves to confide their persons and their property to the protection of an authority with a seat so remote and exacting so reluctant an obedience.

Envoys of the Government enjoin peace.

"What is to become of us," they demanded, "if we are to have no protection for our servants in these wild regions of the North?"

"You have no right in these regions," was the indignant retort of the Company. "They are vested in us by Royal charter. The sooner you apprehend this truth the better for yourselves and for peace in general."

Whereupon the Northmen declared that if the Hudson's Bay Company or Lord Selkirk continued to exercise illegal powers, which had for their end

the destruction of their established commerce, it was inevitable that more bloodshed would follow. Such protestations had the desired effect. The Government entered into correspondence with the directors of the Company, and ordered that they should exert themselves to the utmost to prevent a repetition of lawlessness; the consequences, otherwise, must be on their own head.

The trials which took place at Little York and at Montreal were most disastrous to the Earl.[1] Those relating to the Semple massacre were not tried until 1818.[2] Application had been made to the Governor-in-Chief of Canada in the previous March (1817) to have them removed to Upper Canada, and this naturally caused delay, the Governor judging it ex-

[1] The damages were paid by the Company in 1835.

[2] At the trials at York in October 1818, Sherwood, the North-West company's counsel, continually demanded to know why Semple was called governor. "Why," he exclaimed, with ludicrous energy, "why should this gentleman be continually dignified by the appellation of governor? The indictment charged that Robert Semple was killed and murdered; it said nothing about his being a governor. If he was a governor, then he was also an emperor. Yes, gentlemen," shrieked the counsel, working himself up to fever heat, "I repeat, an emperor —a bashaw in that land of milk and honey, where nothing, not even a blade of corn, will ripen. Who made him governor? Did the King? Did the Prince Regent? No; this pretended authority was an illegal assumption of power, arrogating to itself prerogatives such as are not exercised even by the King of England. I demand that Robert Semple be called Robert Semple—but he was not a governor."

"Come, come," cried Chief Justice Powell, "do let this trial go on! It is no matter whether he was or was not a governor, or what he was called, or called himself, he is not to be murdered, though he was not a governor."

pedient to consult the Home Government in the matter. A favourable reply was received on the 24th of October, and warrants under the Great Seal were issued to try the cases at York. The North-Westers were finally brought before the court, and indictments found against them for participating in the affairs of the 11th of June, and the 28th of June 1815; for larceny at Qu'Appelle River on the 12th of May, and the Semple massacre on the 19th of June 1816. It surprised nobody in Canada that the jury in each case brought in a verdict of not guilty, however much it may have amazed the British public.

Trial of Semple's murderers.

McGillivray, who had been waiting two years for trial, finding the further indictments abandoned, now caused Lord Selkirk, Miles MacDonnell, and eighteen others to be arraigned for their proceedings at the capture of Fort William. The Earl had also several civil suits entered against him, one of which was by William Smith, the constable whom he ejected from that fortress, "taking hold of him and pushing him out of doors, and afterwards keeping him in close custody in the fort under a military guard." The constable got a verdict for £500 damages against the Earl. Daniel McKenzie also entered suit against Lord Selkirk, and obtained a verdict for £1500.

Whilst these various proceedings were in progress, the Red River colony was struggling against adversity. In the winter of 1817 they were forced to resort again to Pembina, owing to a scarcity of food. The

next year, when a considerable area of land had been planted, and a favourable summer following, the July sky suddenly darkened, and a cloud of grasshoppers descended upon the earth. Every green thing perished before them. In greater despair and wretchedness than ever the colonists again migrated across the border. The same disaster occurred in the ensuing year, and had it not been for the bounty and care of the Company many would have starved. It was not until 1822 that the Red River colony, reinforced by French, Irish, German, and Swiss, as well as Scotch settlers, began to present a flourishing condition; but the news of this prosperity was not destined to reach the ears and gladden the heart of its founder. Selkirk had reached England disheartened, and with a well-founded grievance against the Canadian authorities, who, he declared, and with reason, had not accorded him the encouragement his project deserved; and against the Canadian tribunals, from whom it had been impossible to obtain justice.

Prosperity at Red River.

The health of the Earl, shattered by these anxieties as well by exposure and great physical exertion, rendered it necessary that he should seek repose in the south of France. But his ailment was mortal. He breathed his last at Pau, in the month of April 1820, surrounded by his wife and children, leaving behind him many friends and numerous admirers of the intellectual qualities and the courage of a truly great man.

The death of its principal Adventurer strengthened, on the part of the Company, the sentiment for peace; and by removing the chief obstacle hastened a coalition of the interests of the rival traders. None then could nor can now but perceive, if they examine the situation broadly, that the complete annihilation of the North-West association was a mere matter of time. None recognised this more than their agents in London, who had repeatedly made overtures to Lord Selkirk for coalition, but which were by him rejected as often as made.

To Edward Ellice, a leading partner, an enterprising merchant, and a rising parliamentarian, belongs the chief credit of bringing about the union. This young man was the son of Alexander Ellice, a wealthy London citizen, and himself directly interested in the Canadian fur-trade. In 1803, when a lad of but fourteen, young Ellice had gone out to Canada, and animated by a love of adventure had entered into the life of a trader, under the auspices of his father's friends. Ellice was quick to grasp the tendency of affairs. The terrible struggle of recent years made by the Northmen had told severely upon them.[1]

The partners met at Fort William, in July 1820, and a stormy session served to reflect their vexed plight. Dissensions exhibited themselves; the minority,

[1] "Ses postes," says M. Masson, "avaient été pillés et devastés; ses exportations considerablement réduites." On the other hand, he adds, these losses were partly compensated for by the high prices secured in England for their furs.

at least, felt that in their London agents, Ellice and the McGillivrays, coming to terms with the Hudson's Bay Company lay their only hope of salvation.

Without, however, consulting the powers at Fort William, these agents in London were acting on their own account. Conferences with the Chartered Adventurers took place daily. By the time the partnership between the Northmen themselves expired, in 1821, the negotiations had attained the form of an agreement. Delegates had been sent from Fort William to confer with their English representatives as to the future of the interests of the North-West company. Ellice received them cordially in his office in Mark Lane and showed them an instrument which he called the Deed Poll. This document bore the names of the Governor, Berens, and the Committee of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company on the one part, and the McGillivrays and Ellice on the other. The astonished delegates gazed upon the signed and sealed instrument, and recognised that the North-West company had ceased to exist. "Amalgamation," cried one of them, "this is not amalgamation, but submersion! We are drowned men!"

Union of the two companies.

A coalition and partnership had been agreed upon for twenty-one years, on the basis that each should furnish an equal capital for conducting the trade. This Deed Poll, which bore date of March 26, 1821, provided that the expenses of the establishment

should be paid out of the trade, and that no expense of colonisation or any commerce not directly relating to the fur-trade was to fall upon the Company.

The profits were to be divided into one hundred equal parts, of which forty were to be shared between the chief factors and chief traders, according to profit and loss. If a loss should occur in one year on these forty shares it was to be made good out of the profits of the year ensuing. A general inventory and account was to be made out annually on the 1st of June. If profits were not paid to any parties within fourteen days of that date, interest was to be allowed them at the rate of five per cent.

When the Deed Poll was signed it was stipulated that twenty-five chief factors and twenty-eight chief traders should be appointed, to be named in alternate succession from the Hudson's Bay and the North-West companies' servants. Both were placed on an equal footing, the forty shares out of the hundred being again subdivided into eighty-five shares, in order that each of the twenty-five chief factors should receive two (or $\frac{2}{85}$ths), and each of the chief traders one of such shares. The remaining seven shares, to complete the eighty-five, were set apart for old servants, to be paid them during a term of seven years.

The chief factors were to superintend the business of the Company at their respective stations, while the chief traders under them were to conduct the commerce with the Indians. The third class was the clerks, who

were promoted to factorships and traderships, according to good conduct and seniority, but whose clerical salaries ranged from £20 to £100 per annum. The chief factors and traders, who wintered in the interior, were granted, in addition to their share of profits, certain personal necessaries free of cost. They were not, however, permitted to carry on any private trade on their own account with the Indians. Strict accounts were required of them annually. The councils at the various posts were empowered to mulct, admonish, or suspend any of the Company's servants. Each year three chief factors and two chief traders were granted twelve months leave of absence. A chief factor or chief trader, after wintering three years in the service, might retire, and hold his full share of profits for one year after so retiring, with half the share for the four succeeding years. If he wintered for five years, he was granted half profits for six years on retiring. Retirements of chief factors and chief traders were made annually by rotation, three of the former, or two of the former and two of the latter. The heirs of a chief factor or chief trader who died after wintering five years received all the benefit to which the deceased himself would have been entitled had he lived, or in proportion otherwise. Everything was thus regulated, provision being made for any contingency. The Northmen, rough, enterprising, adventurous as most of them were, found themselves part of a huge machine, operated with sleepless

Plan of union.

vigilance by a governor and committee in London. As for the profits, they were to be estimated after the entire expenses, both in London and the fur country, were deducted. They were then to be divided into fifths, of which three-fifths went to the proprietary and two-fifths to the chief factors, chief traders, and clerks, who were to be thenceforward known as the "fur-trade" or the "wintering partners."

No wonder that many of the Northmen were constrained to cry out, in the language of one of their number:[1] "Alas, the North-West is now to be ruled with an iron rod!"

[1] Wentzel. Among the many servants who now found a billet with the Company was the able half-breed, Cuthbert Grant, who for a long time held the post and title of "Warden of the Plains."

CHAPTER XXXIII

1821–1846

THE NEW SYSTEM—A GOVERNOR-IN-CHIEF CHOSEN—A CHAPLAIN APPOINTED—NEW LICENCE FROM GEORGE IV.—TRADE ON THE PACIFIC COAST—THE RED RIVER COUNTRY CLAIMED BY THE STATES—THE COMPANY IN CALIFORNIA—THE OREGON QUESTION—ANGLO-RUSSIAN TREATY OF 1825—THE "DRYAD" AFFAIR—LIEUTENANT FRANKLIN'S TWO EXPEDITIONS—RED RIVER TERRITORY YIELDED TO COMPANY—ENTERPRISE ON THE PACIFIC.

BY virtue of an act passed in 1815 the direct control of the Company's affairs in its territory passed from the hands of a committee sitting in London, to a personage known as the Governor-in-Chief of Rupert's Land and his Council. His commission extended over all the Company's lands and possessions, with an unlimited tenure of office. The Council was to be composed of chief factors, and occasionally a few chief traders, who were to meet at some convenient centre for the purposes of consultation, this particular feature being equivalent to the rendezvous of Fort William. The chartered territories and circuit of commercial relations were divided into vast sections, known as the Northern, Southern, Montreal, and Western Departments. The Northern extended between Hudson's

Bay and the Rocky Mountains, the Southern between James' Bay and Canada, including a part of the eastern shore of Hudson's Bay.

In consequence of the indictments which had been found against Governor Williams in Lower Canada and the risk of his being carried down to Montreal, the Company has found it expedient to send out to Rupert's Land a person to act as *locum tenens* in the event of Williams' absence from its territory. Accordingly, on the 26th November 1820, George Simpson had been appointed *locum tenens* at a salary of £600 per annum. He was ordered to go by the ship *James Munroe* from Liverpool to New York, thence "to make the best of his way to Jack River House *via* Montreal, Michipicoten, and Lake Winnipeg."

On the 22nd May 1822 the resolutions passed by the Company in 1815 for the government of its territories were rescinded and revoked. Instead of that arrangement, it was decreed that thenceforward two governors and a council should have direct authority over the whole of Rupert's Land, the senior of these presiding when both governors were present. One governor and two of the council were to have the full council powers provided for by the Charter, while at the same time a special governor and council were appointed for Assiniboia "which is co-extensive with the territory granted to the late Earl of Selkirk, June 12, 1811," such governor's power, however, ceasing for the time during which either of the

two governors aforesaid should be present in Assiniboia for judicial purposes. But this arrangement proved only temporary; before long Simpson found himself in the sole incumbent of the gubernatorial office. Such a post as this clearly demanded energy, shrewdness, and knowledge; and these conditions Simpson, young as he was, supplied in his own person.

An illegitimate son of the maternal uncle of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer, while clerk in a London counting-house George Simpson had attracted the attention of Andrew Colville, Lord Selkirk's brother-in-law, who sent him to Rupert's Land in the service of the Company.

The new responsibility was a tremendous one, but Simpson did not flinch from accepting it; and the end showed the wisdom of the appointment. For nearly forty years this man stood at the head of the fur-trade: a potentate in the midst of the wilderness, the virtual ruler of almost one-half of a continent.

Governor Simpson.

Governor Simpson was a man of small stature, but he had "the self-possession of an emperor."[1] Accompanied by his voyageurs and clerks, he journeyed along the old Ottawa and lake route,

[1] In March 1821 Wentzel, one of the North-West partners, wrote: "The Hudson's Bay Company have apparently relaxed in the extravagance of their measures; last autumn they came in the [Athabasca] Department with fifteen canoes only, containing each about fifteen pieces. Mr. Simpson, a gentleman from England last spring, superintends their business. His being a strange, and reputedly gentlemanly, man, will not create much alarm, nor do I presume him formidable as an Indian trader." This Northman was to live to perceive his error.

through the Grand Portage, or by Fort William and Lake of the Woods, accomplishing this feat at least once a year throughout the entire period of his rule At the outset of his career he perceived that the management of Red River colony was an extremely difficult task—harder perhaps than the management of the fur-trade. But he attacked both with energy, resolved to serve his employers, and to create at all hazards harmony and prosperity in the territories.

A portion of the time he spent at Red River, part in Oregon, in Athabasca, and at Hudson's Bay. He crossed the Rocky Mountains at three different latitudes, and journeyed extensively over the vast territory of which he was truly the "commercial sovereign."

The appointment in 1818 of the Rev. John West as principal chaplain to the Company led to very great improvements in the moral and religious life at the forts. Many of the traders and servants of the Company were induced to marry the women with whom they had lived, a material advance towards the amelioration of the condition of the Indian and half-breed females.

The next step on the part of the Honourable Adventurers to further safeguard their interests was to supplement their charter by a licence from the new king, George IV. This licence was for the exclusive privilege of trading with the Indians in such parts of North America as were not part of the territories theretofore granted to the Hudson's Bay Company.

This Royal licence, dated the 5th of December 1821, at Carlton House, was expressly issued to prevent the admission of individual or associated bodies into the British North American fur-trade, inasmuch as the competition therein had been found for years to be productive of enormous loss and inconvenience to the Hudson's Bay Company and to trade at large, and also of much injury to the natives and half-breeds.

Company obtains a new licence.

To anticipate events, it may here be remarked that this licence expired in 1842, but prior to its expiration an extension was granted at the close of the first year of the reign of her present Majesty,[1] for a further term of twenty-one years. By virtue of these licences the Company was granted exclusive trade in the Indian territories west of the Rocky Mountains. It must be borne in mind, and will be pointed out in a subsequent chapter, that it was of the utmost moment for Great Britain to obtain a standing in Oregon and on the Columbia River,[2] and the licences were framed with a view to this great and desirable end.

Although, as has been shown, the North-West partners had made great efforts and borne great sacrifices to maintain the trade on the Pacific, they were contending against great odds. The Russian establish-

[1] May 30, 1838.

[2] "Such is the spirit and avidity exhibited by the Council," wrote one of the Company's factors, in 1823, "that it is believed these discoveries will be extended as far as the Russian settlements on the Pacific Ocean."

ments at Norfolk Sound, and at other places on the coast, even so far south as California, came to share in a virtual monopoly with the Americans, who, after the Treaty of Ghent, began to send ships from Boston to New York. The amalgamation of 1821 came about, and the Hudson's Bay Company, invigorated by the infusion of new blood, believed it their duty to seek to regain the trade. They therefore set to work to re-establish British influence on the Pacific.

It was no easy task. The Russians had gained a firm foothold, and the Americans paused at no form of competition, nor any method by which they might secure their ends. The morals of the natives had already become debauched, and now this debauchery spread from tribe to tribe, rendering dealings with them difficult and formidable. Serious losses, both of lives and property, were sustained through their savage attacks on the Company's agents and trading-posts. But the work was in the hands of strong, able, and temperate men, who knew what the situation required of them and did not shrink from meeting it fully and fearlessly. By tact and vigorous measures the natives were restrained; at great expenditure of money and patience order was restored; and in ten years' time the Company occupied the whole country between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific. It maintained six permanent establishments on the coasts, sixteen in the interior, and several movable posts and migratory brigades. By 1835 it had a fleet of six armed vessels,

one of them propelled by steam on the Pacific. Fort Vancouver, its principal *entrepôt* on the Columbia River, was surrounded by large pasture and grain farms, maintaining large herds of horses and cattle, and was a profitable and growing establishment.

It was a long time since the Company had cut any considerable figure in international politics, but with the extraordinary growth of the American States, and the increase of the fur traffic of the Russians, contemporary European publicists came again to speak of the prospect of trouble over the Company's rights and boundaries.

Before this time there had arisen a cry, sedulously seconded by the Company's enemies, that the Red River region belonged to the United States. Nothing can be clearer than that it was never for a moment contemplated either by the British or American Government, that any of the Hudson's Bay lands, or any of the waters running into Hudson's Bay, would be included in the lines assigned as the boundaries between the possessions of Great Britain and those of the States. It is sufficiently demonstrated by the treaty concluded with America in 1794 that such an idea never existed in the minds of the negotiators. By the third article of that treaty, which permits the most perfect freedom of communication and intercourse between the subjects of both nations throughout their respective dominions, an exception is made of the country within the limits of the

Claim of the United States to Red River.

Hudson's Bay Company, to be ascertained, of course, in conformity to their charter from which the Americans are expressly excluded. The terms of the treaty concluded in 1783 with the United States show the express intention of both nations to have been that the northern boundary of the United States should not, in any part, extend farther north than the River St. Lawrence, or the lakes and streams which feed or fall into it.

The unhappy feature of the matter was that a great part of the second article of the treaty of 1783 was drawn up in complete ignorance of the geography of the country, and was so full of contradictions that it became impossible afterwards to lay down a line which should follow that article literally. In this dilemma the only fair method of solving the difficulty was to return to the principles which governed the framing of the article.

At the close of the Revolution the chief aim of the American negotiators, as is evinced throughout their correspondence, was to obtain a recognition of the right of their country to the western territory as far as the St. Lawrence on the north, and the Mississippi on the west. When the British Government acceded to this proposition it was regarded by the Americans as an important concession, and their plenipotentiaries proceeded upon that concession as the principle on which their boundary towards Canada, after it had struck the St. Lawrence, was to be defined. They brought

the line from Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence, and then followed up the main stream of the river to what they believed to be its principal source, and what was supposed to approach the nearest to the source of the Mississippi. In fanciful conformity to this intention, the second article of the treaty of 1783, after having carried the line to Lake Superior, stipulates that it shall be continued onwards through the middle of certain water communications to the north-west point of the Lake of the Woods, and thence due west to the Mississippi. The fact, however, is that the waters of the Lake of the Woods feed streams which fall into Hudson's Bay, but have no communication with any waters which fall into Lake Superior. It is also a fact that a line drawn due west from the Lake of the Woods would never reach the Mississippi, which lies far to the south of such a line.

The Treaty of 1783.

But there was a reason for such egregious blundering. The country had never been surveyed by men of science. Its physical features had been derived from the vague and inaccurate accounts of ignorant traders and bushrangers, which had formed the basis for the current maps. These laid down a large river running from the Lake of the Woods and falling into Lake Superior. If there had been such a river in existence, there can be no doubt, from the body of waters contained in the Lake of the Woods, that it would have been a much larger stream than any of the feeders of Lake Superior. It was therefore most natural that

the negotiators should suppose the Lake of the Woods to be the main source of the St. Lawrence. At the same time this must have appeared to them the point at which the waters of the St. Lawrence approached the nearest to the source of the Mississippi, because in the maps of the bushrangers the Mississippi is laid down as rising four or five degrees of latitude farther north than it does in fact, and as coming within a short distance of the Lake of the Woods on the west.

As the negotiators in Paris in 1783 reposed the greatest confidence in these crude productions of the cartographer, is it surprising that the second article of the treaty should be full of inconsistencies? On any other supposition the intention of the negotiators would be fatuous and incomprehensible.

This brings us to the whole point involved in the American contention, which deprived Great Britain and the Company of a vast territory to which the United States possessed no shadow of right. Where the limits of a country have never been ascertained, the conquest of the contiguous and encroaching territory may be justly considered as establishing the bounds originally claimed by the victorious nation; and this was the case with regard to Canada and the territory of the Company. But where between two powers there have been no defined limits, and no conquests have determined the claims of either, the pretensions of both might be fairly adjusted by laying down as a rule that "the

Examination of American claims.

priority of right should be considered as vested in each, to the respective countries, which each have either principally or exclusively frequented."

The Spaniards west of the Mississippi never extended their establishments nearly so far north as latitude 42°, while the Hudson's Bay limits were long frequented by the English. On what ground, therefore, could the Americans, the successors merely to the rights derived from the Spaniards, claim all the country of the Sioux, the Mandans, and many other tribes on the upper branches of the Missouri?

Nevertheless the States, after their purchase of Louisiana, continued to put in claims for a more northerly and westerly boundary, with what ultimate result we shall see. It is only pertinent to remark here, that nothing could be more absurd than the idea that France ever contemplated the cession of any territory on the Pacific Ocean under the name of Louisiana.

The interior river waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin had attracted the attention of the Company even before the American trappers had reached them, and traders remained there in unmolested possession long after the Russians had left the country. The feeble frontier guard could do nothing but protest, and ultimately when the trappers had nearly exhausted the outlying districts and desired to penetrate into the centre of the State, the American Government admitted them under an agreement with the Hudson's

Bay Company, whereby a tax of fifty cents was to be paid for each beaver skin.

A year before the amalgamation of the rival companies the North-West coast for the first time engaged the attention of the American Government,[1] and what came to be known as the Oregon Question had its birth. The States possessed no title to the country, but a strong party believed that they had a right to found by occupation a legitimate title to a large portion of the territory in question. The matter was brought up at several sessions of Congress, and the utmost was done by such legislators as Floyd and Benton to flog it into an active issue. It was claimed that "the United States, through Spain, France, and her own establishments, had the undisputed sovereignty of the coast from latitude 60° down to 36°." A bill was introduced for the occupation of the Columbia, grants of lands to settlers, and regulation of Indian affairs. But the Government was by no means so sure of the wisdom of such a proceeding; the bill was repeatedly shelved. It is curious to reflect that the restoration of Fort George (Astoria) by the British was one of the strong arguments used at this time.

In the meanwhile Russia had declared that the north Pacific coast down to latitude 51° belonged to her exclusively. All foreign vessels were prohibited

[1] On motion of Mr. Congressman Floyd, a committee was appointed in December 1820, "to inquire into the situation of the settlements upon the Pacific Ocean, and the expediency of occupying the Columbia River."

from approaching within a hundred Italian miles of any part of the coast. America protested, and between 1821 and 1824 negotiations were carried on between the two powers.

Russia flatly asserted that the boundary question was one between herself and Great Britain, with which the Americans had no legitimate concern and offered proofs that the treaty with Spain gave the United States a right only to territory south of 42°. A conclusion was, however, reached in the treaty of 1824, by which the boundary was fixed at 54° 40′, beyond which neither nation was to found any establishment, or to resort without permission; while for a period of ten years both nations were to have free access for trade and fishery to each other's territory.

Russian claims.

In the following year was concluded a treaty between Russia and Great Britain,[1] by which the former again relinquished her claim not only to the region below latitude 54° 40′, but to the vast interior occupied by the Company up to the Frozen Ocean. No objection to this was urged by America, although some of her statesmen sought to take a hand in the matter, and proposed a joint conference. Great Britain's reply to this proposition was to decline, in her turn, to recognise the right of the United States to any interest in the territory in question. The recent promulgation of the Monroe doctrine had given

[1] See Appendix for copy of the treaty.

offence not only to ourselves, but to Russia as well, and both were prepared to combat American pretensions.

Although his Majesty's ministers had refused to treat for a joint convention, yet in 1824 negotiations were begun in London, between Great Britain and America, for the ownership of the northern Pacific coast. The British commissioners showed clearly that the Americans had no valid claim to the territory occupied by the Company.

The mere entrance into a river of a private individual, such as Captain Gray, could not give the States a claim to regions up and down the coast which had been previously explored by officially despatched British expeditions like that of Cook. It was emphatically denied that the restoration of Fort Astoria, under the Treaty of Ghent, had any bearing on the title. Nevertheless, Great Britain was willing to accept as a boundary the forty-ninth parallel from the mountains to the Columbia (also known as McGillivray River), and down that river to the sea. But the Americans were obdurate; a dead-lock ensued, and the convention of 1818 was allowed to remain in force. The Company repeatedly urged the Government not to abandon one inch of territory rightfully under the Crown to the United States. Nevertheless a settlement of the Oregon Question was highly desirable. If in spite of the treaty of 1818 the States should attempt to occupy the territory, war was inevitable. If on the other hand the treaty should expire without any attempt at

American occupation, Great Britain would be, by the law of nations, the party rightfully in possession. A new conference was held in London in 1827; but it was impossible to agree on a boundary, and the only thing possible was a compromise to the effect that the treaty of joint occupation should be indefinitely renewed subject to abrogation at any time by either party on twelve months' notice. Thus the *statu quo* was maintained, and the Hudson's Bay Company remained in actual possession of the profits of the fur-trade for many years to come.

Temporary arrangement between England and the States.

In 1828 Governor Simpson believed it advisable to make a general survey of the western posts, with the object of impressing peace and goodwill upon the natives; of acquiring also a further knowledge of the needs and abilities of the Company's officers and servants in that quarter. This journey of the Governor-in-Chief, undertaken in considerable state, was from York Factory to the Pacific. He was accompanied by a chief factor, Archibald Macdonald, and a surgeon named Hamlyn. Fourteen commissioned gentlemen, as the chief factors and chief traders were called, and as many clerks, accompanied the party to the canoes, and amidst great cheering and a salute of seven guns, bade them God-speed. Simpson entered Peace River on the 15th of August, and reached in due course, three hundred and twenty miles from the mouth, Fort Vermilion, which was then in charge of

Paul Fraser. From here he proceeded to Fort St. James, the capital of Western Caledonia, and the chief depot for all the region north of the Fraser Forks to the Russian boundary, including the Babine country. Forts Alexandria, Kamloops, and Vancouver were visited in due order, and in the following year Simpson returned east by way of the Columbia.

In an attempt to enter the Columbia River in 1829, the Company's ship from London, *William and Ann*, was wrecked on Sand Island. Several of the crew escaped and landed on Clatsop Point, where they were immediately murdered by the natives, in order that the plunder of the vessel might be accomplished without interruption. News of the disaster was carried to Fort Vancouver, where the officer in charge, McLaughlin, sent messengers demanding a restoration of the stolen cargo. In response to this request an old broom was despatched to the fort, with the intelligence that this was all the restitution the Clatsops contemplated. A well-manned schooner was therefore sent on a punitive expedition. Several of the tribe were wounded and a chief shot, after which the Clatsops entered into a better frame of mind, and expressed contrition for their behaviour.

Under the Anglo-Russian Treaty of 1825, the Company possessed the free navigation of streams which, having their rise in British territory, crossed Russian territory in their course to the sea. The Company was not long in availing itself of this privilege.

Posts were successively erected, as far as the Stickeen River; but seven years afterwards there was yet no permanent post on that stream. It was therefore decided to establish one, and a brig, the *Dryad*, was accordingly fitted out and despatched from Fort Vancouver. But in that year, 1833, the Russian Government had received the petition of its subjects to rescind the proviso in the treaty favourable to the British. The Company's enterprise in thus encroaching on Russian territory had alarmed Wrangel, who was then in charge of the Russian establishment[1] at Sitka, and he wrote to his superiors urging them to memorialise the Emperor. He alleged that the Hudson's Bay Company had violated its agreement to refrain from selling firearms or spirituous liquors to the natives—an allegation which was not founded on fact.

Believing that the situation called for instant action, Wrangel did not wait to learn what course his Government would take in the matter, but at once despatched two armed vessels to the entrance of Stickeen River. A fort was hastily built on the site of an Indian village, guns were mounted, and the Company's expedition awaited. All unconscious the *Dryad* force approached.

[1] The Russian Company was incorporated under the patronage of the Crown with a capital of two hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. It had a large commerce with Northern China which did not deal with Canton; and it was in the northern part of the empire that the consumption of furs was greatest. Canton was merely the *entrepôt* where furs were received for distribution throughout China.

Suddenly a puff of smoke and a loud report arrested them, and several shots came from two vessels hitherto concealed in the offing. While the astonished captain and crew put the brig about, with a design to anchor out of range, a boat reached them from the shore, bearing an officer in full Russian uniform. He protested in the name of the Emperor and the Governor of the Russian-American possessions against the entrance of a British vessel into a river appertaining to those powers. The Company's agent attempted to argue the matter, but his representations went unheeded. The Russian was obdurate; they were all threatened with peril to their lives, and to their vessel, if the *Dryad* were not immediately to weigh anchor. There was consequently nothing to do but to return.

The *Dryad* appears.

The Company was indignant at this outrage. The forts it had already built, together with the cost of fitting out the *Dryad* and other vessels, besides a vast quantity of provisions and perishable merchandise sent into that country, had amounted to £20,000 sterling. The Emperor had granted the petition of the Russian Company; and both the British and the American Governments received notification in due course that the clause in the treaty would terminate in twelve months' time. But the *Dryad* affair took place before this decision was made public. The British Government very properly demanded immediate satisfaction, and for a time public interest was keenly aroused.

The Russian Government merely consented to disavow the act of its officer; and issued instructions prohibiting further hindrance to the trading limits previously agreed upon.

The affair did not, however, receive settlement until 1839, in which year a convention was held in London to arrange the points long in dispute between the two companies. The matter was settled with despatch. The Hudson's Bay Company's claim for compensation was waived in return for a lease from the Russian Company of all their territory on the mainland lying between Cape Spencer and latitude 54° 40′. For this lease the Company agreed to pay an annual rental of two thousand land-otter skins and also to supply the Russians with provisions at moderate rates.

In the last chapter, the expedition in 1819-20 of Lieutenant (afterwards Sir John) Franklin was alluded to briefly.

Franklin and his party reached Fort Chipewyan on the 26th March, after having travelled on foot eight hundred and fifty-six miles, with the weather so intensely cold that the mercury continually froze in the bulb. In July 1820 they journeyed five hundred miles more to Fort Enterprise, where the party wintered, Back returning to Fort Chipewyan to procure supplies for the next season's operations. He was eagerly awaited, and when he arrived, in March 1821, he had a tale of great hardship to relate. He

had travelled over one thousand one hundred miles, sometimes going two or three days without food, with no covering at night but a blanket and deer-skins to protect him from the fearful rigours inseparable from fifty degrees below zero. In June the party started out from the Coppermine River to reach the sea, which they did in eighteen days. Their subsequent sufferings were of the most dreadful description. When the survivors returned to York Factory, they had covered five thousand five hundred and fifty miles by land and water; but their object was still unaccomplished.[1]

In 1825 Franklin entered upon a second journey to the shores of the Polar Sea, again accompanied by Lieutenant Back and Peter Dease, one of the Company's chief traders.

"The Governor and Committee took," says Franklin, "a most lively interest in the objects of the expedition, promised their utmost support to it, and forthwith sent injunctions to their officers in the fur countries to provide the necessary depots of provisions at the places which I pointed out, and to give every other aid in their power."

Franklin descended the Mackenzie and traced the coast line through thirty-seven degrees of longitude

[1] "From Joseph Berens, Esq., the Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the gentlemen of the Committee, I received all kinds of assistance and information, communicated in the most friendly manner previous to my leaving England; and I had the gratification of perusing the orders to their agents and servants in North America, containing the fullest directions to promote by every means the progress of the expedition."—*Sir John Franklin.*

from the mouth of the Coppermine River, where his former survey began, to near the one hundred and fiftieth meridian, and coming within one hundred and sixty miles of the most easterly point reached by Captain Beechy, who was exploring from Bering's Strait.

In 1832 the protracted absence of Captain (afterwards Sir John) Ross, who had sailed three years before for the Polar regions, became cause for anxiety. It was decided to send an expedition, commanded by Captain Back, in search of this explorer, and the Government granted £2000 towards the expense, it being understood that the Hudson's Bay Company would furnish the supplies and canoes free of charge, and that the remainder of the expense, which was estimated at £3000, would be contributed by Captain Ross's friends. The expedition sailed, but after it had been absent one year news reached them[1] that Ross had returned safe and sound to England; and Captain Back was ordered to attempt a completion of the coast line of the north-eastern extremity of North America. The Company, through Sir George Simpson, nominated four officers, in its service, to be placed under Back's command.

In 1834 there was witnessed a confirmation of the Deed Poll of 1821, with a more definite prescription

[1] "The extraordinary expedition with which this despatch was transmitted by the Hudson's Bay Company," says Back, "is worthy of being recorded."

of the duties and emoluments of the Company's servants. It was not until the year 1835 that Lord Selkirk's heirs determined to give up their control of the Red River colony, and to surrender the territories granted in 1811. The expenses incurred by the Earl in his expeditions, and in his costly lawsuits, were estimated at a large amount, and this the Company agreed to assume.

In 1839 a powerful blow was dealt at the prosperity of the Company by the successful substitution of silk for beaver fur in the manufacture of hats. The price of beaver almost instantly fell, and continued to fall thenceforward for many years, inflicting great loss upon the Company, which loss, happily, was atoned for in other directions.

In this same year the Company, at the suggestion of Chief Factor McLaughlin, demanded and obtained of the Russian Fur Company a ten years' lease for trading purposes of a strip of land six leagues wide, extending north from latitude 50° 40′, and lying between British territory and the ocean, paying therefor two thousand east side land-otter, worth thirty-two shillings and sixpence each. Statesmen in England marvelled at this arrangement, wondering why the Company sought these six leagues of Russian seaboard. But traffic with the natives was only one of the objects of the Company, for they also contemplated making a customer of the Russians for European goods, as well as for those products of the soil

which the inclemency of the more northern regions prevented their rivals from raising.

Acting upon this arrangement, a party was organised at Montreal in 1839 to take possession of the leased territory. They set out from York Factory in July, and travelled from thence by way of Edmonton, Jasper House, and Walla Walla to Fort Vancouver. In the following year they proceeded to the Redoubt St. Dionysius, or as it was thereafter called, Fort Stickeen, the Russian post at the mouth of the Stickeen River, which was to be the British headquarters in the leased territory. In charge of the fort they found a Russian officer with fifty men, guarded by a brig of thirty-two guns. The officer was informed by the Company's pioneers that they would remain with eighteen men, at which the Russians expressed surprise. For they informed the younger McLaughlin and Rae, who had been appointed to the new post, that the savages were troublesome, that the chief had many slaves skilled in assassination and accustomed to obey his murderous orders. To which the Company's men replied, "Other forts we rule with twenty men, and we will hold Stickeen."

To this period belong the adventures and the tragic end of Thomas Simpson, the Arctic explorer. As a youth, Simpson had shown great scholastic promise, and seemed destined for medicine, when fortune tempted him to try the service of the Company. His cousin, George Simpson, was then Governor of the Company's

territories, and repeated offers of a position decided the talented student to embark in the fur-trade. He began work as secretary to Governor Simpson, with whom he travelled from post to post for some time, until he settled down as accountant at Fort Garry. But soon the Company had a duty for him to perform. In order to strengthen their hand when applying for a renewal of their general trading licence, the Honourable Adventurers decided upon an exploration of the Arctic coast. Young Simpson was requested to undertake the arduous task. Exploration from the Atlantic showed a defined coast line to within seven degrees of the Great Fish River; it was to devolve upon Simpson to explore the intervening gap, and so complete the discovery of the northern coast of North America. In accomplishing this it was thought that the long-looked-for North-West passage would be brought to light.

Simpson left Fort Garry in the winter of 1836–37 and travelled on foot the whole distance to Lake Athabasca, one thousand two hundred miles, where he met Dease, who being the chief factor there, regarded himself nominally at the head of the expedition. In the spring the party descended the Mackenzie in open boats, coasting along to the westward until they attained the farthest point attained by Franklin, from whence a successful journey was made to within a short distance of Point Barrow. Here their progress was arrested by the ice. Wintering at Great Bear Lake, in the spring of 1838 the expedition again started

for the coast, crossing the Coppermine River and descending that stream to its mouth. But to their great disappointment they found the coast ice-bound. In the following spring they were more fortunate, finding the sea comparatively open, and as before, Simpson struck off along the coast on foot. The expedition returned by way of the Coppermine and Great Bear Lake to the Mackenzie River. Simpson wrote his narrative of the expedition while waiting for the freezing up of that stream. He departed from Fort Simpson on the 2nd December, and reached Fort Garry on 1st of February, covering a distance of one thousand nine hundred and ten miles in sixty-one days, many of which were spent in enforced delays at the Company's forts on the way.

Simpson was greatly disappointed to find on his arrival at Red River no letters from the Company in London, inasmuch as he had offered to undertake another expedition to complete the seven degrees still remaining of unexplored coast. The Company had accepted his offer, and wrote to that effect, but the letter arrived too late. When it came it also contained the news that the Royal Geographical Society, in view of the success which had attended his first expedition, had awarded him its gold medal; while the British Government had bestowed on him a pension of £100 sterling per annum.

Simpson's later discoveries far excelled those he had made in 1837, and no doubt the honours accorded him

would have been very great; but in 1840, while travelling, about three days' journey from Fort Garry, in what is now Dakota, a tragedy took place, the details of which are still enshrouded in some mystery.

It appears that the party of which Simpson was a member were arranging their camp for the night. Their horses were grazing hard by. All were armed with guns and pistols, for the Sioux were on the warpath. One of the party was helping to pitch the tent when his ears caught the report of a gun. On turning round he beheld Simpson in the act of shooting, first John Bird, and then Antoine Legros, the former of whom fell dead, while the latter had only time to give his son a last embrace. Simpson then spoke for the first time to this witness, demanding if he knew of any plot to rob him of his papers. This was the last seen alive of the Arctic explorer; next morning his dead body was found lying beside the men he had slain. There is little doubt that he was the victim of a fit of insanity, superinduced by the fear that one of his fellow-travellers might report the results of the expedition to the Company in England before him. His death removed an able and distinguished explorer, who had rendered good service to the Company.

In 1842 Lord Ashburton arrived in the United States, equipped with instructions and powers for the settlement of certain questions long pending between Britain and America. It was expected that the Oregon boundary matter would be one of these. It was un-

fortunate that this was not the case, for the utmost excitement now prevailed in Oregon, the settlers of both nationalities claiming possession. Political meetings were held on the part of the British, at which old Hudson's Bay Company servants and ignorant voyageurs were nominated for office, the latter being men, "whose ideas of government," says one trader, McKay, "were little above those of a grizzly bear."[1]

Travelling along the Columbia River at this time was by no means devoid of danger, owing to the animosity of the natives towards the Americans. Their faith in the Company remained unshaken; but they were subject to fits of suspicion and ill-temper, which were occasionally fraught with considerable inconvenience for the Hudson's Bay servants. In 1844, when J. W. McKay first came to Fort Vancouver, he found that many of the Indians along the route were not to be trusted. Early in 1846 McKay was despatched to California to ascertain what arrangements might be made for securing certain supplies nearer than England, in case the Company's farming establishment on the Columbia should be surrendered to the United States.

In 1846 this factor was given the general supervision of the Pacific establishments, in succession to

[1] It cannot be doubted that Great Britain was wholly influenced by the position of the Company. It has been alleged that she did not anticipate any permanent sovereignty over the country. "The British have certainly no other immediate object," wrote Mr. Gallatin, the American commissioner, to Henry Clay, "than that of protecting the Company in its fur-trade."

James Douglas. Taking passage northward in the *Beaver* in October, according to the custom of the general agent, he visited the several stations and made such changes and left such instructions as he deemed advisable. The Russians he found "affable and polite, but tricky." In August 1847, he mentions meeting a chief of the Stickeen Indians, whom he had reason to believe perfectly trustworthy. "He told me that he had been approached by a Russian officer with presents of beads and tobacco, and that he was told that if he would get up a war with the English in that vicinity, and compel them to withdraw, he should receive assistance in the shape of arms and ammunition; and in case of success he would receive a medal from the Russian Emperor, a splendid uniform, and anything else he might desire, while his people should always be paid the highest prices for their peltries."

In the East as in the West, at Red River, at Edmonton, and on the Pacific, the old policy of procuring provisions and the necessaries of life from England had been abandoned. The Company now raised horses, horned cattle, sheep, and other farm stock. It owned large farms in different parts of the country, grist mills, saw mills, tanneries, and fisheries. From its posts on the Pacific it exported flour, grain, beef, pork, and butter to the Russian settlements; lumber and fish to the Sandwich Islands; hides and wool to England. It opened the coal mines at Nanaimo, after an un-

remunerative expenditure of £25,000 in seeking coal at Fort Rupert.

On the Pacific Coast, as many of the Company's men as could be spared from the business of the fort, as well as such natives as had a leaning towards civilisation, were employed in clearing lands and establishing farms. It was not difficult to convince these Indians that they were pursuing the best policy, and they set to with a will to help the white men and half-breeds, "becoming good bullock-drivers and better ploughmen than the Canadians or Kanakes," to whom, nevertheless, they gave freely of their women as wives, a circumstance which tended to promote good behaviour amongst the medley throng of Company's servants. Such natives were treated with all fairness, and paid wages as high as the other labourers, usually from £17 to £25 per annum.

Agricultural and mercantile enterprise.

The Company became banker for the thousands who thrived by hunting, trading, tilling, or mining within its domains. It issued notes, and so valid were they that it has been said "the Hudson's Bay Company's note was taken everywhere over the northern continent when the 'shin plasters' of banks in the United States and Canada were refused." [1]

[1] Sir Edward Walkin tells how, when he was for a short time, in 1865 and 1866, shareholders' auditor of the Company, he cancelled many of these notes which had become defaced, mainly owing to the fingering of Indians and others, who had left behind on the thick yellow paper coatings of pemmican.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1846–1863

THE OREGON TREATY—BOUNDARY QUESTION SETTLED—COMPANY PROPOSES UNDERTAKING COLONISATION OF NORTH AMERICA —ENMITY AND JEALOUSY AROUSED—ATTITUDE OF EARL GREY —LORD ELGIN'S OPINION OF THE COMPANY—AMENDED PROPOSAL FOR COLONISATION SUBMITTED—OPPOSITION OF MR. GLADSTONE —GRANT OF VANCOUVER ISLAND SECURED, BUT ALLOWED TO EXPIRE IN 1859—DR. RAE'S EXPEDITION—THE FRANKLIN EXPEDITION AND ITS FATE—DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH-WEST PASSAGE—IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT APPOINTS SELECT COMMITTEE —TORONTO BOARD OF TRADE PETITIONS LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL —TROUBLE WITH INDIANS—QUESTION OF BUYING OUT THE COMPANY—BRITISH GOVERNMENT REFUSES HELP—"PACIFIC SCHEME" PROMOTERS MEET COMPANY IN OFFICIAL INTERVIEW —INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL ASSOCIATION BUYS COMPANY'S RIGHTS—EDWARD ELLICE, THE "OLD BEAR."

ON the 15th of June 1846, in spite of the protestations of the Company, the unfair Oregon Treaty was concluded between Great Britain and America.

By the second article of that instrument it is declared that: "From the point at which the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch of the river to the point

where the said branch meets the main stream of the said river shall be free and open to the Hudson's Bay Company, and to all British subjects trading with the same, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean, with free access into and through the said river or rivers, it being understood that all the usual portages along the line thus described shall, in like manner, be free and open. In navigating the said river or rivers, British subjects, with their goods and produce, shall be treated on the same footing as citizens of the United States; it being, however, always understood that nothing in this article shall be construed as preventing, or intending to prevent the Government of the United States from making any regulations respecting the navigation of the said river or rivers not inconsistent with the present treaty."

The Oregon Boundary Question.

According to Article III., "In the future appropriation of the territory south of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, as provided in the first article of this treaty, the possessary rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of all British subjects who may be already in the occupation of land or other property lawfully acquired within the said territory, shall be respected."

The Oregon boundary question was thus settled by the sacrifice of the whole of Oregon. As immigrants were pouring into it from all parts of America, and California was already receiving numerous bodies of

gold-miners, it was therefore natural that Vancouver Island and British Columbia should also receive attention. The climate was known to be almost perfect. A motion to encourage colonisation in those territories was made soon in the British Parliament. The Company was quite alive to the situation, and a letter was addressed to Earl Grey, the Colonial Secretary, dwelling on the efforts the Adventurers had made in the British interest, and urging that Vancouver Island be granted to them. The negotiations continued until March 1847, when Sir J. H. Pelly, the Governor of the Company, again wrote to Earl Grey, informing him that the Company would "undertake the government and colonisation of all the territories belonging to the Crown in North America, and receive a grant accordingly."

Such a proposition staggered her Majesty's Ministers, who were for the most part ignorant of the work the Company had already accomplished, of the position it occupied, or of the growth of its establishment on the Pacific. Already it governed and was now busy colonising the territory, doing both in a manner superior to that adopted by the Americans in their adjacent territories. Such a proposition, too, awakened all the jealousy and enmity in various quarters against the Company which had been latent for so long.

One of the most determined and virulent in his attacks on the Company at this time was one A. K. Isbister, who addressed a long communication to

Earl Grey, besides other letters to public men in England. In answer to Isbister, Earl Grey forwarded the substance of a report which had been made by Major Griffiths, late in command of her Majesty's troops at Fort Garry, to whom had been communicated the petition of certain residents of Red River settlement.

Enmity and jealousy aroused.

To all the petitions, memorials, and complaints of interested parties and self-seekers against the Company, Earl Grey had but one answer. He said he had gone to the bottom of the matter, and he believed the Company was honest and capable. If he had had any doubt about it, this doubt must have been removed by a remarkable despatch of Lord Elgin, Governor-General of Canada, under date of 6th June 1848. "I am bound to state," he wrote, "that the result of the inquiries which I have hitherto made is highly favourable to the Company, and that it has left on my mind the impression that the authority which it exercises over the vast and inhospitable region subject to its jurisdiction, is, on the whole, very advantageous to the Indians. . . . More especially it would appear to be a settled principle of their policy to discountenance the use of ardent spirits. It is indeed possible that the progress of the Indians towards civilisation may not correspond with the expectations of some of those who are interested in their welfare. But disappointments of this nature are experienced, I fear, in other quarters as well as in the territories of the Hudson's

Bay Company; and persons to whom the trading privileges of the Company are obnoxious may be tempted to ascribe to its rule the existence of evils which are altogether beyond its power to remedy. There is too much reason to fear that if the trade were thrown open and the Indians left to the mercy of the adventurers who might chance to engage in it, their condition would be greatly deteriorated." [1]

Such was the opinion of the Earl of Elgin on the Hudson's Bay Company, and it was the opinion of all who really understood the Company's aims, its history, and its position. "Persons to whom the trading privileges of the Company are obnoxious." It was thus that the Earl laid his finger upon the cause of the whole onslaught. Jealousy of the Company's rights was at the bottom of the whole matter.

[1] Lord Elgin went on to say: "At the same time I think it is to be regretted that a jurisdiction so extensive and peculiar, exercised by British subjects at such a distance and so far beyond the control of public opinion, should be so entirely removed from the surveillance of her Majesty's Government. The evil arising from this state of things is forcibly illustrated in the present instance by the difficulty which I experience in obtaining materials for a full and satisfactory report on the charges which your Lordship referred to me. It were very desirable, if abuses do exist, that Government possessed the means of probing them to the bottom; and on the other hand it seems to be hard on the Company, if the imputations cast upon it be unfounded, that Government, which undertakes the investigation, should not have the power of acquitting it on testimony more unexceptionable than any which is at present procurable. It has been stated to me that your Lordship has it in contemplation to establish a military officer at some point within the territories of the Company, and that the Company is disposed to afford every facility for carrying out this arrangement. I trust that this report may prove to be well founded."

The Vancouver Island negotiations were suspended for a year. The Company, seeing the opposition it had evoked, then put forward a less extensive proposal, by which it offered to continue the general management of the whole territory north of the forty-ninth degree, and for colonising purposes to except Vancouver Island alone. It agreed to colonise the island without any pecuniary advantage accruing to itself, and promised that all moneys received for lands and minerals should be applied to purposes connected with the improvement of the country. The proposition seemed a reasonable one; but in a certain rising statesman, who had inherited his opposition to the Company from his father, and who had many followers, the Honourable Adventurers had a powerful enemy. His name was William Ewart Gladstone; his enmity to the measure caused the British Government to halt.

Opposition of Mr. Gladstone.

The Company was not without strong friends, as well as uncompromising enemies. It drew up a deed of charter, and boldly relied on the Earl of Lincoln (afterwards Duke of Newcastle) to procure favour for it in the House of Commons. On the 17th July the Earl opened the subject, and drew from Mr. Gladstone a speech which occupies many columns of Hansard's Debates. With energy the young statesman hurled argument, invective, appeal, and remonstrance at the heads of his fellow-members. It was then suggested that he was actuated by personal malice. Every

EDEN COLVILLE

From a lithograph

statement, every slander that could wither or blacken the fair fame of a corporation which had deserved well of its country, was employed on this occasion, and his conclusion was that the Company was incompetent to carry out its promises. Mr. Howard, who followed, believed that it would be "most unwise to confer the extensive powers proposed on a fur-trading Company." Yet he did not deny that as California had recently been ceded to America, it was a matter of the highest importance that a flourishing British Colony should be established on the Pacific coast as an offset to that power. Lord John Russell undertook to enlighten the House as to the achievements of the Company, apart from fur-trading. He said that it already held exclusive privileges, which did not expire until 1859; that the western lands were controlled by a Crown grant, dated 13th May 1838, confirming the possession by the Company for twenty-one years from that date; that these privileges "could not be taken away from it without breach of principle, and that if colonisation were delayed until the expiration of this term squatters from America might step in and possess themselves of the Island."

It was voted to refer the matter to the Privy Council Committee for Trade and Plantations; and on the 4th September this body reported in favour of granting Vancouver Island to the Hudson's Bay Company. The grant was duly signed, sealed, and delivered on the 13th January 1849.

The grant of Vancouver Island.

The Company, in the midst of its triumph, was not satisfied. It was not merely that it had aroused enmities which it was powerless to allay. It had been lured, by too zealous friends, into making promise of a policy which it foresaw could not be followed without ruinous cost. It foresaw that the rush to the Pacific, consequent upon the gold-fever of 1849, would bring about new interests not its own, and, in brief, that the colony would pass from its hands, and that all its outlay and labour would have been expended without commensurate profits. What it dreaded came about sooner than it expected. Opposition had been collecting from without, and had been engendered from within. Some of the Adventurers announced that when, in 1859, the grant would expire, they would object to its renewal. The Company's enemies declared that it had not exerted itself to bring about the desired colonisation of Vancouver Island. The settlers forwarded a memorial asking to be relieved from the Company's control. At the same time the Governor it had appointed, Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Douglas, was popular, and when the grant was allowed to expire and Vancouver Island became in 1859 a Crown colony, he was retained in the same office. Shortly afterwards a Government was organised, with Mr. Douglas at its head, on the mainland of British Columbia.

Meanwhile, in the eastern as well as the western extremity of the Company's domains, agitation and malcontent were being fomented. Certain residents of

Red River settlement had forwarded petitions to Earl Grey. Lieutenant-Colonel Crofton, in command of Her Majesty's troops at Fort Garry, was asked to send in a report of the state of affairs at Red River, and at a little later period his successor, Major Griffiths, was requested to do likewise. Neither had any connection with the Company, and both might therefore be regarded as unbiassed as well as fully informed. Both exonerated the Company from most of the charges brought against them, and as to the remainder, which were preferred on untrustworthy evidence, they professed ignorance. Each rendered full credit to the Company "for the manner in which it has of late years exercised its powers."

In the year of the Oregon treaty the Company caused some valuable exploration to be made of its northern coasts. Dr. Rae and his party reached Chesterfield Inlet 13th July 1846, passed Repulse Bay safely, and conveyed their boats thence into Committee Bay, at the bottom of Boothia Gulf. The Company's expedition wintered at Repulse Bay, and again entering Committee Bay, in April 1847, by the following month had completed a survey, with the exception of Fury and Hecla Straits, of the entire northern coast of the North American continent.

Fate of the Franklin Expedition.

In the previous year, 1845, Sir John Franklin, who had, since his last travels in Rupert's Land, been Governor of Tasmania, was offered the command of another expedition in search of the North-West passage, by the British Government.

He embarked in the *Erebus* and *Terror*, and his ships were last seen by a whaler on the 26th of July in Baffin's Bay.

Several years passed without tidings of the expedition. In 1850 traces of the missing ships were discovered by Ommaney and Penny, and it was thus ascertained that the first winter had been spent near Beechy Island. No further news came until the spring of 1854, when an expedition conducted by the Hudson's Bay Company, from Republic Bay, received information from the Esquimaux that four years before about forty white men had been seen dragging a boat over the ice near the north shore of King William's Island. Somewhat later in the same season of 1850, declared the natives, the bodies of the entire party were found at a point a short distance to the northwest of the Great Fish River. To prove their assertion the Esquimaux produced various articles which were known to have belonged to the ill-fated explorer and his party. The Government having previously offered a reward of £10,000 "to any party, or parties who, in the judgment of the Board of Admiralty, shall, by virtue of his or her efforts, first succeed in ascertaining" the fate of the missing expedition, Dr. Rae laid claim to, and obtained this reward.

Another expedition under Anderson and Stewart went in two canoes, in 1855, down the Great Fish River, and further verified the truth by securing more European articles and clothing from the Esquimaux.

It now became clear that a party from the *Erebus* and *Terror* had sought to reach, by the Fish River route, the nearest Company's post to the south, and had been arrested by the ice in the channel near that river's mouth. In 1857 Lady Franklin, whose efforts to set at rest the fate of her husband had been most heroic, sent out the yacht *Fox*, commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir Leopold) McClintock, who had already taken part in three expeditions despatched in search of Franklin. In the following year more relics were obtained, closely followed by the discovery of many skeletons. In a cairn at Point Victory Lieutenant Hobson unearthed the celebrated record kept by two of the explorers, which briefly told the history of the expedition for three years, or up to April 25, 1848. It appeared that Sir John Franklin had perished on the 11th of June 1847. It is believed that one of the vessels must have been crushed in the ice and the other stranded on the shore of King William's Island, where it lay for years, a perfect mine of novel implements and playthings for the Esquimaux.

Franklin was virtually the discoverer of the long-sought North-West passage, inasmuch as he had all but traversed the entire distance between Baffin's Bay and Bering's Strait.

Yet it should be observed that in the year 1853 Commander McClure, who was in charge of an Arctic expedition from the Pacific, was rescued near Melville Island by Sir Edward Belcher, who came from the

side of the Atlantic, and that both he and his companions returned to Europe *viâ* Baffin's Bay. Thus the secret of the North-West passage was disclosed at last. It was now known that a continuous passage by water existed between Baffin's Bay and Bering's Strait. Such was the last of the voyages undertaken for the purpose of North-West discovery through Rupert's Land.

The North-West Passage discovered at last.

For ten years past the profits of the Company had increased, and it now stood at the height of its power. In 1846 there were in its employ five hundred and thirteen articled men and thirty-five officers. It controlled a net-work of trading routes between its posts situated between the Atlantic and the Pacific oceans. In 1856 it had one hundred and fifty-two establishments under Governor Simpson's control, with sixteen chief factors and twenty-nine chief traders, assisted by five surgeons, eighty-seven clerks, sixty-seven postmasters, five hundred voyageurs, and one thousand two hundred permanent servants, in addition to sailors on sea-going ships and other employees, numbering altogether above three thousand men.

At the beginning of 1857 the opponents of the Company flattered themselves that they were about to witness a realisation of their long-cherished schemes. They had at last succeeded in procuring a Select Committee of the Imperial House of Commons for the purpose of considering "the state of those British possessions in North America which are under the

administration of the Hudson's Bay Company, or over which it possesses a license to trade." The committee was composed of the following persons: The Right Honourable Henry Labouchere (afterwards Lord Taunton), Sir John Pakingham, Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, the Right Honourable Edward Ellice, Lord Stanley, Viscount Sandon, and Messrs. Lowe, Adderley, Roebuck, Grogan, Kinnaird, Blackburn, Charles Fitzwilliam, Gordon, Gurney, Bell, and Percy Herbert. Evidence was taken from the 20th of February to the 9th of March, which comprised the first session of the committee. It sat again in May, and the examination of the numerous witnesses ended on the 23rd of June. Public interest was aroused, and the Company and its doings again became a standing topic at London dinner-tables. The Honourable Adventurers were again on their trial—would they come out of the ordeal as triumphantly as on the occasion of the previous great investigation a full century and a decade before? The list of witnesses comprised names of some distinction. Such, for example, were: Sir John Richardson, Rear Admiral Sir George Back, Dr. Rae, Chief Justice Draper of Canada, Sir George Simpson, Hon. John Ross, Lieut.-Colonel Lefroy, Lieut.-Colonel Caldwell, Bishop Anderson, Hon. Charles Fitzwilliam, Dr. King, and Right Hon. Edward Ellice. At the second session Messrs. Gordon, Bell, and Adderley retired, and Viscount Goderich and

Imperial Parliament appoints Select Committee.

Messrs. Matheson and Christy took their places. The first witness examined was the Honourable John Ross, then President of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. "It is complained," said he, "that the Hudson's Bay Company occupy that territory and prevent the extension of settlement and civilisation in that part of the continent. I do not think they ought to be permitted to do that; but I think it would be a very great calamity if their control and power were entirely to cease. My reason for forming that opinion is this: during all the time that I have been able to observe their proceedings, there has been peace within the whole territory. The operations of the Company seem to have been carried on, at all events, in such a way as to prevent the Indian tribes within their borders from molesting the Canadian frontier; while, on the other hand, those who have turned their attention to that quarter of the world must have seen that, from Oregon to Florida, for these last thirty years or more, there has been a constant Indian war going on between the natives of American territory, on the one side, and the Indian tribes on the other. Now, I very much fear that if the occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company were to cease, our fate in Canada might be just what it is with the Americans in the border settlements of their territory."

Lord Elgin had, as we have seen, showed the weak spot of the opposition. Mr. Ross indicated it more precisely. "I believe," said he, "there are certain

gentlemen at Toronto very anxious to get up a second North-West company, and I dare say it would result in something like the same difficulties which the last North-West company created. I should be sorry to see them succeed. I think it would do a great deal of harm, creating further difficulties in Canada, which I do not desire to see created."

At the close of the evidence Mr. Gladstone proposed resolutions unfavourable to the Company, which were negatived, the numbers being seven to seven, by the casting vote of the chairman, Lord Taunton. The committee agreed to their report on the 31st July. It recommended that the Red River and Saskatchewan districts be "ceded to Canada on equitable principles," the details being left to Her Majesty's Government. The termination of the Company's rule over Vancouver Island was advised; and this advice was not distasteful to the Company. The committee strongly urged, in the interests of law and order, and of the Indian population as well as for the preservation of the fur-trade, that the Company "should continue to enjoy the privileges of exclusive trade which they now possess."

As an illustration of the spirit prevalent in many quarters in Canada towards the Company, the petition which, on the 28th of April 1857, reached the Legislative Council of Canada, may be cited. It emanated from the Board of Trade of the City of Toronto. After reciting in anything but a respectful manner

the history and status of the Company, it declared that the Company acted under a "pretended" right, that it "assumed the power to enact tariffs, collect custom dues, and levy taxes against British subjects, and has enforced unjust and arbitrary laws in defiance of every principle of right and justice." The petitioners besought the attention of the Government "to that region of country designated as the chartered territory, over which the said Company exercises a sovereignty over the soil as well as a monopoly in the trade, and which said Company claims as a right that insures to it *in perpetuo*, in contradistinction to that portion of the country over which it claims an exclusive right of trade, but for a limited period only." The "gentlemen at Toronto" admitted that this latter claim was founded upon a legal right, but submitted that a renewal of "such license of exclusive trade was injurious to the interests of the country so monopolised, and in contravention of the rights of the inhabitants of Canada."

Toronto merchants petition Legislative Council.

In this year the claims of the Company in connection with the Treaty of 1846 were finally arranged by a special treaty concluded through the Hon. W. H. Seward for America, and Lord Lyons, the British Ambassador. The Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, which was an offshoot and subordinate concern of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the purposes of wheat, wool, hides, and tallow production, was also named as one of the interested parties.

"Whereas," so ran the new treaty, "it is desirable that all questions between the United States authorities on the one hand, and the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural companies on the other, with respect to the possessory rights and claims of these companies, and of any other British subjects in Oregon and Washington Territory, should be settled by the transfer of those rights and claims to the Government of the United States for an adequate money consideration: It is hereby agreed that the United States of America and Her Britannic Majesty shall, within twelve months after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, appoint each a commissioner for the purpose of examining and deciding upon all claims arising out of the provisions of the above-quoted articles of the Treaty of June 15, 1846." [1]

The commercial rivalry existing between the Russian-American Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, which held a trading lease of part of the sea-bound territory, naturally tended to engender and keep alive an unwholesome temper amongst the Indians. They were frequently troublesome, and occasionally

[1] The treaty having provided for a joint commission, Mr. A. S. Johnston and the Hon. (afterwards Sir) John Rose were appointed to act for America and Great Britain respectively. These commissioners, on the 10th of September 1869, issued an award from Washington, directing the payment of $450,000 by the United States to the Hudson's Bay Company, and $200,000 to the Puget's Sound Company. There was, as usual, considerable delay in making this payment. On the 11th of July 1870, $325,000 was appropriated by Congress for this purpose, and a like sum by another appropriation in the following year.

murderous. In May 1862 between two hundred and fifty and three hundred of the natives on the west side of Chatham Strait, twenty-five miles north of Cross Sound, seized on the quarter-deck the captain and chief trader of the Company's steamer *Labouchere*, of seven hundred tons, and taking possession of the vessel, drove the crew forward. The crew had a large gun in the after part of the ship, this they quickly trained; and, as a result of their celerity, parleying took place.

Unwholesome temper amongst the Indians.

The Indians had not known, they said, that this was a Company's ship. It was agreed that both parties should discharge their rifles, and peace being proclaimed, the Indians finally left the vessel. Before their departure, however, they covered the deck with fine sea-otter and other skins as a present to the captain and traders, and as a further token of peace.

In September 1860, after an illness of but five days' duration, died Sir George Simpson, the Governor-in-Chief in Rupert's Land, amidst general regrets. He had been often, indeed persistently, attacked by the Company's enemies during his tenure of office; indeed almost up to the day of his death he was charged with being autocratic and tyrannical, but none could deny him great ability and exceptional fitness for a difficult post.

He had taken a powerful interest in northern discoveries, and superintended the fitting out of several Arctic expeditions. For his services in this direction

he had been knighted in 1841, and soon afterwards had set out on a journey round the world, of which he published an interesting relation. In his late years he resided at Lachine, where he entertained the Prince of Wales on his visit to Canada in 1860.

His successor was Mr. A. E. Dallas, who having made a considerable fortune in China, had for some time served the Company on the Pacific coast. Thanks to his prudence, the landing in 1859 of General Harney and a detachment of American troops on the island St. Juan, between Vancouver's Island and the mainland, had been effectually neutralised by the proposal of joint occupation until negotiations should settle the question of right. He was returning home to England, intending to retire, when he was persuaded to accept the Governorship of Rupert's Land.

Proposals to buy out the Company.

At the head of a scheme for a transcontinental road and telegraph system was Mr. (afterwards Sir) Edward Watkin, well known as the promoter of the Grand Trunk Railway. For this scheme an Imperial subsidy was sought. The dissensions which ensued between the various parties interested proved not unfruitful, for they led up to the great question of buying out the Company.

At the beginning, however, the Duke of Newcastle, then Colonial Secretary, had amiably undertaken to sound the Company as to their willingness

to allow a road and telegraph line through their territory.[1]

In response to this demand the aged Governor answered, almost in terror, to the Duke of Newcastle, "What, sequester our very tap-root! Take away the fertile lands where the buffaloes feed! Let in all kinds of people to squat and settle, and frighten away the fur-bearing animals they don't hunt and kill! Impossible! Destruction—extinction of our time-honoured industry. If these gentlemen are so patriotic, why don't they buy us out?" To this outburst the Duke

[1] "I am glad to tell you that since I received your letter of Saturday last, the Hudson's Bay Company has replied to my communication, and has promised to *grant* land to a company formed under such auspices as those with whom I placed them in communication. The question now is, what *breadth* of land they will give, for of course they propose to include the whole length of the line through their territory. A copy of the reply shall be sent to Mr. Baring, and I hope you and he will be able to bring this concession to some practical issue.

"I was quite aware of the willingness of the Company to *sell* their *whole* rights for some such sum as £1,500,000. I ascertained the fact two months ago, and alluded to it in the House of Lords in my reply to a motion by Lord Donoughmore. I cannot, however, view the proposal in so favourable a light as you do. There would be no immediate or *direct* return to show for this large outlay, for of course the trade monopoly must cease, and the sale of the land would for some time bring in little or nothing—certainly not enough to pay for the government of the country.

"I do not think Canada *can*, or if she can, ought to take any large share in such a payment. Some of her politicians would no doubt support the proposal with views of their own—but it would be a serious, and for some time unremunerative addition to their very embarrassing debt. I certainly should not like to *sell* any portion of the territory to the United States—*exchange* (if the territory were once acquired) would be a different thing—but that would not help towards the liquidation of the purchase money."—*Letter of the Duke of Newcastle, 14th August* 1862.

quietly replied: "What is your price?" Governor Berens in reply stated that the Company would be prepared to sell out to the British Government for about a million and a half.

On receiving this information Mr. Watkin was anxious that the British Government should figure among the purchasing parties, inasmuch as purchase seemed the only way out of the difficulty. The Governor and Committee seemed to have made up their minds for a sale or else to withstand the project which Mr. Watkin and the rest of his fellow-promoters had so dearly at heart. An endeavour was made to convince the Duke that at the price named there could be no risk of loss, because the fur-trade could be separated from the land and rights, and after the purchase a new joint-stock company could be organised to take over the trading-posts, the fleet of ships, the stock of goods, and the other assets, rights, and privileges affecting trade. Such a company, it was shown, would pay a rental (redeemable over a term of years if necessary) of three or three and a half per cent. on £800,000, leaving only £700,000 as the value of a territory larger than Russia in Europe. The new company would raise additional capital of its own to modernise its business, to improve the means of intercourse between its posts, and to cheapen and expedite the transport to and fro of its merchandise. It was pointed out that a land company could be organised in England, Canada, and

Discussions as to the price.

America which, on a similar principle of redemption rental, might take over the lands, leaving a reserve of probably a fourth of the whole as the unpaid-for property of the Government, at the price of £700,000. "Were these proposals to succeed, then," said Mr. Watkin, "all the country would have to do was to lend £1,000,000 on such security as could be offered," ample, in his opinion, in each case.

But a condition was to be imposed if these plans were to be adopted. The Hudson's Bay territory must be erected into a Crown colony like British Columbia, and governed on the responsibility of the Empire. As to the cost of government, there were three suggestions put forward. One was that it might be recouped by a moderate system of duties in and out of the territory, to be agreed upon between Canada and British Columbia on the one hand and the United States on the other. The second was to sell a portion of the territory to America for five million dollars, which sum it was known could be obtained. The third scheme was to open up portions of the fertile belt to colonisation from the United States. When considering the second plan, the Duke said he would not sell; he would exchange; and studying the map, "we put our fingers upon the Aroostook Wedge, in the State of Maine; upon a piece of territory at the head of Lake Superior, and upon islands between British Columbia and Vancouver's Island, which might be the equivalent of rectification of boundary on many

portions of the westward along the 49th parallel of latitude."

As for a name for the new proposed Crown colony, Dr. Mackay had suggested "Hesperia," and this name was mentioned to the Duke. Its similarity to "hysteria" probably caused it to be dismissed.

The decision of the Duke of Newcastle on the whole proposition was that were he a Minister of Russia he would agree to purchase the land from the Hudson's Bay Company. "It is," said he, "the right thing to do for many, for *all* reasons; but ministers in Great Britain must subordinate their views to the Cabinet." Nevertheless, he went so far as to believe that it was right. But the Colonial Office were in positive opposition to the scheme.

Opposition of the Colonial Office.

It was now clear that the promoters of the Pacific transcontinental railway could hope for no direct pecuniary aid from the British Government. They must act for themselves.

After some correspondence, it was arranged that the promoters of the "Pacific scheme," as it was called, should meet the Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company in an official interview. The date was the 1st of December 1862.

"The room," writes Sir Edward Watkin in his Memoirs, "was the Court room, dark and dirty. A faded green cloth, old chairs, almost black, and a fine portrait of Prince Rupert. We met the Governor,

Berens, Eden Colville, and Lyell only. On our part there were Mr. C. G. Glyn (the late Lord Wolverton), Captain Glyn (the late Admiral Henry Glyn), and Messrs. Newmarch, Benson, Blake, and myself. Mr. Berens, an old man and obstinate, bearing a name to be found in the earliest lists of Hudson's Bay shareholders, was somewhat insulting in his manner. We took it patiently. He seemed to be astounded at our assurance." Such a proposition, coming from private individuals, might well have been thought astounding.

The "Pacific Scheme" discussed.

But the Governor showed himself more reasonable; a calmer discussion ensued, and the promoters were informed that the Company would be ready to make a grant of land for the actual site of a road and telegraph through their territory. Nothing more would be vouchsafed, unless, as they had informed the Duke of Newcastle, they were paid for all their rights and property.

"The offer," observes Sir Edward, "of a mere site of a road and ground for telegraph poles was no use. So, just as we were leaving, I said, 'We are quite ready to consider your offer to sell; and to expedite matters, will you allow us to see your accounts, charters, and so forth.' They promised to consult their Court."

The result of this promise was that the promoters were put into communication with "old Mr. Roberts, aged eighty-five, their accountant, and with their solicitor, Mr. Maynard." Many interviews took place between these parties. On the 17th of March 1863,

Mr. Watkin met the Governor, Mr. Ellice, junior (son of Edward Ellice, who had been nicknamed the "Old Bear"), Mr. Matheson, and Mr. Maynard at Hudson's Bay House. A number of account-books were produced.

"Next day I had a long private interview with Mr. Maynard, but could not see the balance-sheet. The same day I saw the Duke with Messrs. Glyn and Benson." On the following day, the chief promoter spent the forenoon with Mr. Roberts, the accountant, and his son and assistant, at Hudson's Bay House. Mr. Roberts told him many odd things, one of which was, that the Company had had a freehold farm on the site of the present City of San Francisco of one thousand acres, and had sold it just before the gold discoveries for £1000, because two factors quarrelled over it. "I learnt a great deal of the inside of the affair, and got some glimpses of the competing North-West company, amalgamated by Mr. Edward Ellice, its chief mover, many years agone, with the Hudson's Bay Company. Pointing to some boxes in his private room one day, Mr. Maynard said, 'There are years of Chancery in those boxes, if any one else had them.'"

In spite of the Duke's grave state of health, he expressed the greatest interest in the progress of the negotiations. Yet the prospect of Government aid was now remote. Two ways were open to raise the money for a purchase of the Company's rights—to secure the names and support of fifteen millionaires, for £100,000 each; the other to hand the proposed

purchase over to the newly organised International Finance Association, who were eager to find some important enterprise to put before the public. The first method seemed to recommend itself to the promoters; and the friends of the project could easily have underwritten the necessary amount. But the Company now announced that it would give no credit. The purchasers must "take up the shares as presented and pay for them over the counter." There was, therefore, no alternative, and Mr. Richard Potter, acting for the capitalists, completed the negotiations. The shares were taken over and paid for by the International Financial Association, who issued new stock to the public to an amount which covered a large provision of new capital for the extension of business by the Company, and at great profit to themselves. As regards the new Hudson's Bay shareholders, their two hundred and one shares were subsequently reduced by returns of capital to one hundred and thirty-one. From being quoted on the Exchange at thirty-seven, during the "land boom" period twenty years later the stock stood at two hundred and forty-one!

The International Financial Association.

A Hudson's Bay Company prospectus was issued It was understood that the International Financial Association were merely agents, that the shares would not remain in their hands, but would pass to the proprietors, who would, of course, only enjoy the rights such shares carried. They would, in fact, be a continuation of the Company, only their efforts would be

directed to the promotion of the settlement of the country; the development of the postal and transit communications being one of the objects to which they were pledged. A new council had been formed, and amongst its members was Mr. Eden Colville, one of the old committee, whom the Duke praised publicly "in the highest terms," as a man of business and good sense.

There was one person in London who was amazed at what had taken place. Edward Ellice still lived, but his commanding figure was bent by the weight of years. As we have seen, it was he who, in 1821, played the principal part in the amalgamation of the rival companies. He had grown to be proud of the Company, proud of its history, of its traditions, of its service; and he seemed to detect in this transfer its fall. A few months before his death, in 1863, he met one of the negotiators at Burlington House. He confronted him for some moments without speaking, in a state of abstraction. Then he passed on, like a man "endeavouring to recollect a long history of difficulty, and to realise how strangely it had all ended."

Ellice had said, before the Parliamentary Committee of 1857, in reply to a question put by a member as to what probability there was of a settlement being made, "within what you consider to be the southern territories of the Hudson's Bay Company?" "None; in the lifetime of the youngest man now alive!"

Erroneous prophecy! but the loyal Deputy-Governor did not himself live to witness its fulfilment.

CHAPTER XXXV

1863–1871

Indignation of the Wintering Partners—Distrust and misgivings arise—Proposals of Governor Dallas for the compensation of the Wintering Partners in exchange for their abrogation of Deed Poll—Threatened deadlock—Position of those in authority rendered untenable—Failure of Duke of Newcastle's proposals for surrender of Territorial Rights—The Russo-American Alaskan Treaty—The Hon. W. McDougall's resolutions—Deputation goes to England—Sir Stafford Northcote becomes Governor—Opinion of Lord Granville as to the position of affairs—Lack of military system Company's weakness—Cession now inevitable—Terms suggested by Lord Granville accepted—First Riel Rebellion—Wolseley at Fort Garry.

Far away across the Atlantic in the hunting-grounds of the North-West was a body of men who were, as much as the aged Governor, the Committee and the sleeping partners, members of the Great Company. Yet their voice had never been heard, nor their consent obtained to the transaction described in the last chapter: not an inkling of what was impending had reached them. By the Deed Poll it was provided that the profits of the fur-trade (less interest on capital employed) were to be

divided into one hundred parts, sixty parts going to the stockholders and forty to the "wintering partners." What would the "wintering partners" say to this brilliant "game of chess" which had been played by the stockholders for interests which were only jointly theirs?

No sooner had the necessary papers been signed, and the million and a half sterling paid over, than misgivings seem to have seized the minds of those directly interested. In their defence it has often been urged that the Company's posts and hunting-grounds still remained. That the factors and traders would be as well off under the new *régime* as under the old—that the mere change of one body of shareholders for another could affect them nothing—that, in fact, they would really benefit by having men of newer ideas and a more progressive spirit, must now be admitted.

Indignation of the wintering partners.

The news of the transfer, once in the newspapers, travelled fast, and in a few weeks at the less distant posts, and in a few months at the more remote ones, the rumour ran that the Company had sold out—that the London partners had betrayed the real workers in the wilderness.

A large number of the Company's chief factors and traders had, it appeared, addressed a memorial to the Company in London, when first the rumour of a sale had reached them. They declared that they had been informed that no transfer was probable, but if it took place it would not be without previous consultation. They now learned for the first time from the news-

papers that these arrangements had been made. An influential member of the new Company predicted that a general resignation of the officers from Labrador to Sitka would ensue, followed by a confederation amongst themselves, in order to carry on the fur-trade in competition with the Company. They had, they said, "the skill, the will, and the capital to do it."

It was said that the appearance of Mr. Lampson's name as Deputy-Governor of the new Company had heightened the first feeling of distrust, for this gentleman and his commercial connections had long been the Company's great rivals in the fur marts, carrying on a vigorous competition at all accessible points.[1]

Governor Dallas, almost immediately upon his arrival in Montreal, caused a circular to be issued, addressed to all the factors, completely refuting all these charges and innuendoes. Many conferences took place between Dallas and Watkin as to the working of the Company in the fur territories on the new basis. Dallas kept the Governor and Committee in London fully advised of the state of affairs, accompanied by proposals as to

[1] "To my mind the worst feature in the new Company is that of allowing a foreigner (American) to hold office. He owes allegiance to the United States, and his position gives him knowledge which no American should possess. 'Blood is thicker than water,' says the proverb: 'No man can serve two masters.' As to the idea that being in the fur-trade his experience and influence will benefit the new Company, will any furrier believe that? If the Company will sell all the furs, I would never rest satisfied while an American was in the management."—William McNaughten, the Company's agent at New York. Mr. Lampson, it may be added, was afterwards created a baronet. His grandson succeeded to the title in November 1899.

the compensation to be allowed the aggrieved wintering partners. An interesting object, which it was desired to accomplish at this time, was an exchange of boundary between the Company and the United States, so as to permit Superior City being brought into British territory by means of a fair payment and exchange of land. The negotiations looking to this end, although at one time promising, proved a failure.

Governor Dallas's suggestions.

It was believed that the first measure necessary towards the reorganisation of the Hudson's Bay service would be the abolition or modification of the Deed Poll, under which the trade was then conducted. The wintering partners (chief factors and chief traders) had certain vested rights, and these could not be interfered with without compensation.[1]

One mode suggested by Governor Dallas of removing the difficulty was to ascertain the value of a retired interest, and bestow a money compensation to each officer on his entering into an agreement to consent to the abrogation of the Deed Poll. As regarded the shares held in retirement, some of the interests had nearly run out and none of the parties had any voice

[1] The eighty-five shares belonging to the wintering partners, in 1863, were held as follows:—

15 chief factors	30 shares
37 chief traders	37 „
10 retired chief factors . .	13 „
10 retired chief traders . .	5 „
	85 shares.

in the business. The value of a (one-eighty-fifth) share was ascertained to be (on an average of the previous thirteen "outfits") about £408, at which rate a chief factor's retired interest would amount to £3264, and a chief trader's to £1632. Adding the customary year's furlough on retiring, a factor's retired allowance would be £4080, and a trader's £2040. On such a scale of commutation it would cost the Company £114,500 to buy out its officers.

As a set-off to this outlay Governor Dallas suggested a substantial reduction in salaries. Under the then existing organisation the pay of officers in the service was £2000 to the Governor-in-Chief, £16,000 amongst sixteen chief factors, £14,000 to thirty-five chief traders, and £10,000 to the clerks, a total officers' pay-roll of £38,000. He proposed to cut this down as follows:

Governor-in-Chief	£2,000
Lieutenant-Governor	1,250
Four Councillors at £800 . . .	3,200
Twenty-five chief traders at £300 .	7,500
One hundred clerks at various salaries	10,000
	£23,950

But Sir Edmund and his colleagues thought otherwise. The wintering partners were not yet to reap any profit from the sale of the Company's assets. The Deed Poll remained in full force until 1871, when they were paid £107,055 out of the money

received from Canada for Rupert's Land and the North-West.

In 1863 the Company's government had almost come to a deadlock in the Red River settlement. Two cases had just occurred of prisoners having been forcibly rescued from gaol; and they, with about thirty to fifty others implicated in the riots, continued at large, fostering discontent. The only paper published, the notorious *Nor'-Wester*, was in the hands of the Company's bitterest enemies.[1] The position of those in authority was so disagreeable that it was with great difficulty that Governor Dallas persuaded the magistrates to continue their duties. Governor McTavish, who was in charge of Assiniboine, resigned, and others were prepared to follow his example, including the Governor-in-Chief himself. Fortunately the open malcontents were few in number and the volunteer force was sufficient to protect the gaol and support law and order, were it not for the unwise zeal of the Company's partisans, who were ready to engage in a free fight with the agitators. This, beyond question, would have led to a repetition of the Semple tragedy of 1816. It may be noted that the Company's unpopularity in the Red River country, according to Governor Dallas, "arose entirely

Threatened deadlock in Red River Settlement.

[1] "Its continued attacks upon the Company," wrote Governor Dallas, "find a greedy ear with the public at large, both in the settlement and in Canada."

from the system, not from the faults of its administrators."

The agitation against the Company still continued, but slowly. It seemed difficult for the parties interested in the abolition of the Company's rights to agree upon a single scheme which would be permanently satisfactory, and not too costly. Sir Edmund Head expressed himself in favour of a complete sale of rights and ownership to the Imperial authorities. But this scheme was, as has been seen, beset with almost insuperable difficulties. In November 1863, Sir Edmund suggested that an equal division be made of the territory fit for settlement between the Company and the Crown, with inclusion of specified tracts in the share of the former; secondly, that the Company construct the road and telegraph; thirdly, that the Crown purchase such of the Company's premises as should be required for military use, and to pay the Company a net third of all future revenue from gold and silver.

In his Speech from the Throne, on the 19th February 1864, Lord Monk, the Governor-General of Canada, alluded to the matter, which was beginning to engross the public mind.

"The condition," said he, "of the vast region lying on the north-west of the settled portions of the Province is daily becoming a question of great interest. I have considered it advisable to open a correspondence with the Imperial Government, with a view to

arrive at a precise definition of the geographical boundaries of Canada in that direction. Such a definition of boundary is a desirable preliminary to further proceedings with respect to the vast tracts of land in that quarter belonging to Canada, but not yet brought under the action of our political and municipal system."

It was hoped by many that the Company could be induced to sell out its rights to the Imperial Government, and out of the territory to carve out a new Crown Colony.

In the course of the ensuing debate on the address, the Honourable William McDougall, Minister of Crown Lands, who was officially concerned in the matter, stated that "the Government of Canada had reached a conclusion upon the advisability of determining whether the Red River territory belonged to Canada or to some other country." The consequence was that a correspondence had been opened with the Imperial Government upon the subject. Mr. McDougall thereupon announced his individual view of the case as being that "Canada was entitled to claim as a portion of its soil all that part of the North-West territory that could be proved to have been in possession of the French at the time of the cession of Canada to the British."

It was not at all likely that the Duke of Newcastle would share such a view, or that he would entirely acquiesce with the suggestion of Sir Edmund Head on

behalf of the Company. Under date of the 11th of March, and 5th of April 1864, he formulated the appended proposals:—

"1. The Company to surrender to the Crown its territorial rights.

"2. To receive one shilling for every acre sold by the Crown but limited to £150,000 in all, and to fifty years in duration, whether or not the receipts attained that amount.

"3. To receive one-fourth of any gold revenue, but limited to £100,000 in all, and to fifty years in duration.

"4. To have one square mile of adjacent land for every lineal mile constructed of road and telegraph to British Columbia."

The surrender of Territorial Rights.

These proposals were carefully considered by Sir Edmund Head and his colleagues, and it was decided at a meeting on the 13th of April to accept them, subject to certain alterations. It was urged that the amount of payments within fifty years should either not be limited or else placed at the sum of £1,000,000 sterling, instead of a quarter of that sum. The Company also suggested that a grant be made to it of five thousand acres of wild land for every fifty thousand acres sold by the Crown.

In the meantime the Duke of Newcastle had been succeeded in the Colonial Secretaryship by Mr. Cardwell, who on the 6th of June wrote to say that he could not entertain the amendments of the Company. For several months nothing was done, but in December the Honourable Adventurers again met and again showed

their desire for an amicable and reasonable arrangement. They offered to accept £1,000,000 for the territory which they then defined, and which was substantially in extent the whole region granted them in the charter of Charles II. In 1865 the Hon. George Brown went to England to come to terms over the proposed transfer, but without success.

The charter of the Russian company was about to expire. It had underlet to the Hudson's Bay Company all its franchise on the mainland between 54° 40′ and Mount St. Elias; and now it was proposed that an American company, holding direct from the Russian Government, should be substituted, and it seemed to the Americans a good opportunity to organise a fur-trading company to trade between the States and the Russian possessions in America. But before the matter could mature, the American and Russian Governments interposed with a treaty, by which Alaska was ceded to the States for $7,200,000 in gold. Few treaties have ever been carried out in so simple a manner. Russia was glad to be rid of her possessions in North America. The sum of $7,000,000 was originally agreed upon; but when it was understood that a fur company and an ice company enjoyed monopolies under the existing government, it was decided to extinguish these for the additional sum. Thus was an opportunity lost to Great Britain to acquire what has since proved a valuable territory.

America purchases Alaska.

On 1st July 1867, the Confederation of the scattered British Provinces of North America was made, amidst general rejoicings, an accomplished fact. On the 4th of December Mr. McDougall, who was now Minister of Public Works for the new Dominion of Canada, brought in, at the first session of Parliament, a series of resolutions directly relating to the acquisition of Rupert's Land and the Great North-West:—

"1. That it would promote the prosperity of the Canadian people and conduce to the advantage of the whole Empire if the Dominion of Canada, constituted under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, were extended westward to the shores of the Pacific Ocean.

"2. That the colonisation of the lands of the Saskatchewan, Assiniboine, and Red River Settlements, the development of the mineral wealth which abounds in the regions of the North-West, and the extension of commercial intercourse through the British possessions in America from the Atlantic to the Pacific, are alike dependent upon the establishment of a stable government for maintenance of law and order in the North-West Territories.

"3. That the welfare of the sparse and widely scattered population of British subjects of European origin, already inhabiting these remote and unorganised territories, would be materially enhanced by the formation therein of political institutions bearing analogy, as far as circumstances will admit, to those which exist in the several Provinces of this Dominion.

"4. That the 146th section of the British North America Act, 1867, provides for the admission of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory, or either of them, into union with Canada upon terms and conditions to be expressed in Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of the Dominion to her

Majesty, and which shall be approved of by the Queen in Council.

"5. That it is accordingly expedient to address her Majesty, that she would be graciously pleased, by and with the advice of her Most Honourable Privy Council, to unite Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with the Dominion of Canada, and to grant to the Parliament of Canada authority to legislate for their future welfare and good government.

"6. That in the event of the Imperial Government agreeing to transfer to Canada the jurisdiction and control over this region, it would be expedient to provide that the legal rights of any corporation, company, or individual within the same will be respected; and that in case of difference of opinion as to the extent, nature, or value of these rights, the same shall be submitted to judicial decision, to be determined by mutual agreement between the Government of Canada and the parties interested. Such agreement to have no effect or validity until first sanctioned by the Parliament of Canada.

"7. That upon the transference of the territories in question to the Canadian Government, the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement would be considered, and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the Crown in its dealings with the aborigines."

In the following year a delegation to arrange the terms for the acquisition by Canada of Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory arrived in England. It consisted of Sir George Étienne Cartier and Mr. William McDougall. On presenting themselves at the Colonial Office they were invited by the Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, to visit him at Stowe "for the purpose of discussing

freely and fully the numerous and difficult questions involved in the transfer of these great territories to Canada." At the Duke's country-seat, whither accordingly the delegates went, one of the first things the Duke communicated to them was that the Company were "lords-proprietors." As such they were to be treated, not as parties having a defective title and fit subjects for that "spoliation" previously deplored by Cartier.[1] It can be no matter of doubt that, taking this view, the Company's demands were most reasonable. But the Canadian delegates were not content to take this view. There had been so much irresponsible hue-and-cry about the weakness of the Company's title, that they doubtless felt themselves privileged to hold out for better terms. While negotiations were thus pending in London, the Duke of Buckingham quitted office with his colleagues, and was succeeded by Earl Granville. Almost at the same time the Earl of Kimberley, the Company's Governor, resigned, and was replaced by Sir Stafford Northcote. In January 1869 the new Colonial

Deputation goes to England.

[1] "With regard to the Hudson's Bay matter," wrote Cartier to Watkin, under date of 15th of February 1868, "not the least doubt that the speech of 'John A.' [Macdonald] was very uncalled for and injudicious. He had no business to make such a speech, and I told him so at the time—that he ought not to have made it. However, you must not attach too much importance to that speech. I myself, and several of my colleagues, and John A. himself, have no intention to commit any spoliation; and for myself in particular, I can say to you that I will never consent to be a party to a measure or anything intended to be an act of spoliation of the Hudson's Bay's rights and privileges."

Secretary transmitted to the delegates the reply of the Company, declining their counter-proposals, and inviting them to communicate to him any observations they might desire to offer further on the situation.

"We felt reluctant," to quote the language of the delegates, "as representatives of Canada, to engage in a controversy with the Company concerning matters of fact, as well as questions of law and policy, while the negotiation with it was being carried on by the Imperial Government in its own name and of its own authority."

Nevertheless, these scruples were soon overcome. They accepted Lord Granville's invitation, and on the 8th February stated at length their views upon the various points raised by the Governor of the Company, which views clearly demonstrated that the Dominion was by no means prepared to deal with the Honourable Adventurers in a spirit of generosity or even of equity. Lord Granville now came forward with plans of his own, but these were not agreeable to Sir George Cartier and Mr. McDougall. While the negotiations were in progress the Company lodged an indignant complaint against the Canadian Government for undertaking the construction of a road between the Lake of the Woods and the Red River settlement without first having procured its consent. Stormy meetings of the Honourable Adventurers were held; it seemed impossible to resist the pressure which was being

Canada exerts pressure on the Company.

brought to bear. Had the old Governor and committee been in existence it is possible this pressure would have been longer withstood. The delegates returned to Canada, but they had succeeded in no slight measure in impressing upon the Imperial Government their peculiar views. On the 9th of March, Lord Granville employed the following language to the Governor of the Company:—

"At present the very foundations of the Company's title are not undisputed. The boundaries of its territory are open to questions of which it is impossible to ignore the importance. Its legal rights, whatever these may be, are liable to be invaded without law by a mass of Canadian and American settlers, whose occupation of the country on any terms it will be little able to resist; while it can hardly be alleged that the terms of the charter, or its internal constitution, are such as to qualify it under all these disadvantages for maintaining order and performing the internal and external duties of government."

Lack of military system Company's weakness.

There was the Company's weakness. No sovereign in Europe had a clearer right to his or her dominions, perhaps no rule was wiser or more beneficent, but the one powerful, indispensable adjunct to sovereign authority it lacked—a military system.[1] With a standing army

[1] "The present state of government in the Red River settlement is attributable alike to the habitual attempt encouraged, perhaps very naturally, in England and in Canada, to discredit the tradition and question the title of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to the false

the Company's rights would have been secure—but it was a king without soldiers. It required ten thousand drilled men to defend its frontiers—it was too late in the day to organise such a force, it could only submit gracefully to its envious and powerful neighbours. Cession was perhaps inevitable; these were the terms which Lord Granville proposed and which at last it decided to accept.

"1. The Hudson's Bay Company to surrender to her Majesty all the rights of government, property, &c., in Rupert's Land, which are specified in 31 and 32 Victoria, clause 105, section 4; and also all similar rights in any other part of British North America, not comprised in Rupert's Land, Canada, or British Columbia.

"2. Canada is to pay to the Company £300,000 when Rupert's Land is transferred to the Dominion of Canada.

"3. The Company may, within twelve months of the surrender, select a block of land adjoining each of its stations, within the limits specified in Article 1.

"4. The size of the blocks is not to exceed —— acres in the Red River country, nor 3000 acres beyond that territory, and the aggregate extent of the blocks is not to exceed 50,000 acres.

---

economy which has stripped the Governor of a military force, with which, in the last resort, to support the decisions of the legal tribunals. No other organised government of white men in the world, since William Penn, has endeavoured to rule any population, still less a promiscuous people composed of whites, half-breeds, Indians, and borderers, without a soldiery of some sort, and the inevitable result of the experiment has, in this case, been an unpunished case of prison-breaking, not sympathised in, it is true, by the majority of the settlers, but still tending to bring law and government into contempt, and greatly to discourage the governing body held responsible for keeping order in the territory."—*Governor Dallas.*

"5. So far as the configuration of the country admits, the blocks are to be in the shape of parallelograms, of which the length is not more than double the breadth.

"6. The Hudson's Bay Company may, for fifty years after the surrender, claim in any township or district within the Fertile Belt, in which land is set out for settlement, grants of land not exceeding one-twentieth of the land so set out. The blocks so granted to be determined by lot, and the Hudson's Bay Company to pay a ratable share of the survey expenses, not exceeding —— an acre.

"7. For the purpose of the present agreement, the Fertile Belt is to be bounded as follows: On the south by the United States Boundary; on the west by the Rocky Mountains; on the north by the northern branch of the Saskatchewan; on the east by Lake Winnipeg, the Lake of the Woods, and the waters connecting them.

"8. All titles to land up to the 8th of March 1869, conferred by the Company, are to be confirmed.

"9. The Company to be at liberty to carry on its trade without hindrance, in its corporate capacity, and no exceptional tax is to be placed on the Company's land, trade, or servants, nor an import duty on goods introduced by them previous to the surrender.

"10. Canada is to take over the materials of the Electric Telegraph at cost price, such price including transport, but not including interest for money, and subject to a deduction for ascertained deteriorations."

[*Note.*—By an order in Council, 24th June 1870, the blocks of land adjoining the posts in the Red River Territory agreed upon as belonging to the Company, were: Upper Fort Garry, 500 acres; Lower Fort Garry, 500 acres; White Horse Plains, 500 acres.]

On such terms did the Canadian Government acquire this vast territory of two million three hundred

thousand square miles. In that portion designated the Fertile Belt, comprising three hundred million acres, there were agricultural lands believed to be capable of yielding support to twenty-five millions people.

Cession to Canadian Government.

Filled with high hopes as to the future of the country they had thus acquired, the Canadian Government was confronted by the necessity of providing it with a suitable form of Government to replace that of the Company. Little did the public men who had interested themselves in the negotiations ponder on the difficulties of the task. Apparently they undertook it with a light heart. During the session of 1869 an Act was passed at Ottawa providing a provisional form of government in the territory, and in October of the same year the Hon. William McDougall received the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor. But before he set out on his duties surveying parties had been busy in the Red River settlement, laying out townships and instituting an extended series of surveys.

In order to be in the place of his government when by the Queen's Proclamation it should become a portion of the Dominion of Canada, McDougall, in the month of November, found himself at the frontier of the Province. But the transfer was not to be consummated without bloodshed. A portion of the little community of Red River raised its voice in vehement protest against the arrangements made between the Government of Canada and the Company. These

malcontents, chiefly French half-breeds, headed by Louis Riel, expelled the Governor appointed by the Dominion and planned a resistance to all authority emanating from the same source. They assembled in large numbers, and after fortifying portions of the road between Pembina and Fort Garry, took possession of the latter post. Upon consideration of the case of these wild and ignorant Métis, it is difficult to withhold from him sympathy. Settled government, forms of law, state duty, exactions of citizenship, the sacrifices and burdens of urban civilisation—of these he knew but dimly, and held them in a vague horror. He knew that men lived and ground out their lives in cities afar off, and that by means of their wealth they possessed power; that they had cast envious eyes on the hunting-grounds of the Indian and his half-brother the Métis; that they sought to wrest him from his lands and mark it off into town lots, people his beloved prairies and exterminate his race. They must mean him ill or they would not work in such a silent, stealthy fashion to dispossess him and drive him farther west into unfamiliar fastnesses. There were fifteen thousand souls in the country bordering on Red River, and the majority objected, not without reason, that such an arrangement as had just been carried out should be done without their consent or having been consulted. Was it wonderful that the half-breed, resenting this march of civilisation which would trample him and

Forlorn case of the Métis.

his possessions to atoms, should arise, seize his rude weapons, and prepare for war?

It is true the insurrection of 1869-70 could have been averted. It would have been easy, through an agent of tact and eloquence, to have dispelled the illusions which had taken possession of the Métis, and to have restored confidence as to the policy of Canada. But was it the Hudson's Bay Company's duty to enlighten the aggrieved inhabitants? The Company which had been bullied and badgered and threatened with confiscation unless it agreed to a renunciation of its rights? Was it the fault of the Company that several thousand wild Métis children of the wilderness, passionately attached to the old order of things, were in their hearts loyal to it which fed and clothed and administered law to them?[1]

When, therefore, the insurgents had taken possession of Fort Garry, a council of half-breeds was held and the inhabitants called upon to send delegates to a national convention. The English colonists accepted the invitation, but were soon made aware that Riel and his supporters were resolved on more desperate measures than they could themselves countenance. The authority of the Company had been observed; but it was now disregarded; the books and records of

[1] "It is an undoubted fact," remarks General Sir William Butler, "that warning had been given to the Dominion Government of the state of feeling amongst the half-breeds, and the phrase, 'they are only eaters of pemmican,' so cutting to the Métis, was first originated by a distinguished Canadian politician."

the Council of Assiniboia were seized, and on the 1st December a "Bill of Rights" was passed by the "Provisional Government." This act of open rebellion caused the secession of the English; insurgency was now rampant, and many of the inhabitants found themselves incarcerated in gaol. Then followed the illegal infliction of capital punishment upon Thomas Scott, a young Orangeman, and the despatch of Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley to the seat of trouble. Leaving Toronto on the 25th of May 1870, Wolseley and his force, after a long and arduous journey, arrived at Fort Garry on the 24th of August. But the rebellion was already over, and the chief instigator and his companions had fled.

For many years the Company's officers in charge of the various districts in Rupert's Land had annually met in Council for the regulation and discussion of affairs of the fur-trade in general. Regarding themselves as true partners of the Company, they naturally anticipated sharing with the shareholders the sum Canada had agreed to pay for its territory.

In July, just one month before the entrance of the future hero of Tel-el-Kebir and the British troops into Fort Garry, a last meeting of the council of officers of the Honourable Hudson's Bay Company was held at the post known as Norway House. It was presided over by Fort Garry's Governor, Mr. Donald Alexander Smith,[1] a servant since boyhood of the Company. At

[1] Afterwards that distinguished philanthropist, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, High Commissioner for Canada in London and Governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

this meeting it was decided to represent the claims of the officers to the partners in England. To this end Mr. Smith was unanimously appointed their representative, he undertaking the task of presenting their claims. The London shareholders were by no means immediately acquiescent. But although Sir Stafford Northcote presided over some turbulent meetings in Fenchurch Street, the claims of the "wintering partners" were ultimately recognised in the only manner possible. Out of the £300,000 paid by the Dominion, the sum of £107,000 was divided amongst the officers for the relinquishment of their claims.

Turbulent meetings at Hudson's Bay House.

The Governor of the Company, in his report to the shareholders in November, stated that "since the holding of the General Court on the 28th June, the Committee have been engaged in proceeding with the reorganisation of the fur-trade, and have entered into an agreement with the Chief Factors and Chief Traders for revoking the Deed Poll of 1834, and settling claims arising under it upon the terms sanctioned by the proprietors at the last General Court. They have also prepared the draft of a new Deed Poll adapted to the altered circumstances of the trade."

Thus a new era had begun in the history of the Honourable Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay.

CHAPTER XXXVI

1821–1871

THE COMPANY STILL KING IN THE NORTH-WEST—ITS FORTS DESCRIBED — FORT GARRY — FORT VANCOUVER — FRANKLIN — WALLA WALLA—YUKON—KAMLOOPS—SAMUEL BLACK—MOUNTAIN HOUSE—FORT PITT—POLICY OF THE GREAT COMPANY.

THE Company, in yielding the sovereignty of the Great North-West to Canada, still ruled though crown and sceptre had been taken from it. Its commercial ascendency was no whit injured; it is still one of the greatest corporations and the greatest fur company in the world. But new interests have arisen; its pristine pride, splendour, and dignity would now be out of place. The old lion has been shorn of its mane, and its roar is now no longer heard in the Great North-West. It no longer crouches in the path of progress, determined to sell dearly the smallest sacrifice of its ancient rights and privileges; it is ready to co-operate with the settler and explorer, and all its whilom enemies.

Yet, since 1871, its history has not been without many stirring passages. Its long record of steady work, enterprise, and endurance has not been tarnished.

DAVID ANDERSON, D.D., BISHOP OF RUPERT'S LAND

From a mezzotint after a picture by A. RIPPINGILLE

Its commanding influence with the Indians, and with a large number of the colonists, has enabled it to assist the authorities in many ways and often in forwarding the public interests, suppressing disorder and securing the goodwill of the Red men who inhabit Canada. The Great Dominion owes much to the Great Company.

Canada's debt to the Company.

The posts of the Company reach from the stern coasts of Labrador to the frontiers of Alaska, and throughout this enormous region it yet controls the traffic with the aborigines. To-day there are one hundred and twenty-six posts at which this active trade is conducted, besides those numerous wintering stations or outposts which migrate according to circumstances and mercantile conditions.

The forts of the Company in Rupert's Land and on the Pacific, with few exceptions, all resembled each other. When permanent, they were surrounded by palisades about one hundred yards square. The pickets were of poles and logs ten or fifteen inches in diameter, sunk into the ground and rising fifteen or twenty feet above it. Split slabs were sometimes used instead of round poles; and at two diagonally opposite corners, raised above the tops of the pickets, two wooden bastions were placed so as to command a view of the country. From two to six guns were mounted in each of these bastions—four, six, or twelve-pounders, each with its aperture like the port-hole of a ship. The ground floor beneath served

Latter-day forts of the Company.

as a magazine. Within the pickets were erected houses, according to necessity, store and dwelling being most conspicuous.

The older forts have already been described. When Fort Garry was constructed it became the Company's chief post and headquarters. High stone walls, having round towers pierced for cannon at the corners, enclosed a square wherein were substantial wooden buildings, including the storehouses, dwellings, the Governor's residence, and the gaol. Some distance below Fort Garry, on Red River, was Stone Fort, which comprised about four acres, with numerous buildings.

The chief establishment of the Saskatchewan district was Fort Edmonton. It was of sexagonal form, with pickets, battlemented gateways and bastions. Here were the usual buildings, including the carpenter's shop, blacksmith's forge, and windmill. At Fort Edmonton were made and repaired boats, carts, sleighs, harness, and other articles and appliances for the annual voyage to York Factory, and for traffic between posts. There was also here a large and successful farm, where wheat, barley, and vegetables were raised in abundance.

Far different was Fort Franklin, a rough, pine-log hut on the shore of Great Bear Lake, containing a single apartment eighteen by twenty feet! It was roofed with sticks and moss, and the interstices between the logs were filled with mud.

In 1825 was built Fort Vancouver, the metropolitan

establishment of the Company on the Pacific. It stood on the north side of the Columbia River, six miles above the eastern mouth of the Willamette. At first located at the highest point of some sloping land, about a mile from the river, this site was found disadvantageous to transport and communication, and the fort was moved a few years later to within a quarter of a mile of the Columbia. The plan presented the familiar parallelogram, but much larger than usual, of about seven hundred and fifty feet in length and five hundred in breadth. The interior was divided into two courts, with about forty buildings, all of wood, except the powder magazine, which was of stone. In the centre, facing the main entrance, stood the Governor's residence, with the dining-room, smoking-room, and public sitting-room or bachelors' hall, the latter serving also for a museum of Indian relics and other curiosities. Single men, clerks, and others, made the bachelors' hall their place of resort, but artisans and servants were not admitted. The residence was the only two-storey house in the fort, and before its door were mounted two old eighteen-pounders. Two swivel guns stood before the quarters of the chief factor. A prominent position was occupied by the Roman Catholic chapel, to which the majority of the fort's inmates resorted, the dining-hall serving for the smaller number of Church of England worshippers. The other buildings were dwellings for officers and men, school and warehouses, retail

Fort Vancouver.

stores and artisan shops. The interior of the dwellings exhibited, as a rule, an unpainted pine-board panel, with bunks for bedsteads, and a few other simple pieces of furniture.

Another post on the Pacific, of different character and greater strength, was Fort Walla Walla. It stood on the site of Fort Nez Percé, which was established when the Indians attacked Ogden's party of fur-traders here in 1818. The assault was repelled; but it was found necessary as a safeguard to rear this retreat. Fort Walla Walla was built of adobe and had a military establishment.

A strong fort was Fort Rupert, on the north-east coast of Vancouver Island. For a stockade, huge pine trees were sunk into the ground and fastened together on the inside with beams. Round the interior ran a gallery, and at two opposite corners were flanking bastions mounting four nine-pounders. Within were the usual shops and buildings, while smaller stockades protected the garden and out-houses.

Fort Yukon was the most remote post of the Company. It was beyond the line of Russian America, and consequently invited comparison with the smaller and meaner Russian establishments. Its commodious dwellings for officers and men had smooth floors, open fireplaces, glazed windows, and plastered walls. Its gun-room, fur press, ice and meat wells were the delight and astonishment of visitors, white and red.

After the treaty of 1846, by which the United

States obtained possession of Oregon territory, the headquarters of the Company on the Pacific Coast were transferred from Fort Vancouver to Fort Victoria. This post was enclosed one hundred yards square by cedar pickets twenty feet high. At the north-east and south-west corners were octagonal bastions mounted with six six-pounders. It had been founded three years earlier as a trading-post and depôt for whalers, and possessed more than three hundred acres under cultivation, besides a large dairy farm, from which the Russian colonies in Alaska received supplies.

Old Fort Kamloops was first called Fort Thompson, having been begun by David Thompson, astronomer of the North-West company, on his overland journey from Montreal to Astoria, by way of Yellowhead Pass, in 1810. It was the capital of the Thompson River district, and one of the oldest in all the Oregon region. After Thompson, hither came Alexander Ross, who, in 1812, conducted operations there on behalf of Astor's Pacific Fur Company. After the coalition in 1821, the veteran fur-trader, John McLeod, was in charge of the Thompson River district. Then came Ermatinger, who presided at Kamloops in 1828, when Governor Simpson visited the fort and harangued the neighbouring Indians, beseeching them to be "honest, temperate, and frugal; to love their friends the fur-traders, and above all to bring in their heaps of peltries, and receive therefor the goods of the Company."

The post was not without thrilling legends and

abundance of romance. It was here that the Company's officer in command, Samuel Black, in 1840 challenged his brother Scot and guest, David Douglas, the wandering botanist, to fight a duel, because the latter bluntly, one night over his rum and dried salmon, had stigmatised the Honourable Adventurers as "not possessing a soul above a beaver skin." Black repelled in fury such an assertion; but Douglas refused to fight. He took his departure, only to meet his death shortly afterwards by falling into a pit at Hawaii, while homeward bound.

Legend of Kamloops.

If this was the fate of the calumniator of the Company, that of its defender was not less tragic; for soon after his display of loyalty, while residing at Fort Kamloops, he was assassinated by the nephew of a friendly neighbouring chief, named Wanquille, "for having charmed his uncle's life away." Black's successor, John Tod, built a new fort on the opposite side of the river, which differed but little from the later fortresses of the Company. There were seven houses, including stores, dwellings, and shops, enclosed in palisades fifteen feet in height, with gates on two sides and bastions at two opposite angles.

Early in 1848 a small post was erected by the Company on the Fraser River, near a village of the Lachincos, adjacent to the rapids ascended by Alexander Anderson the previous year. The fort was called Yale, in honour of Chief Factor Yale, who was at that time in charge of Fort Langley. It was the only post on

that wild stream, the Fraser, between Langley and Alexandria, a distance of some three hundred miles. Two causes led to its erection: the Waiilatpu massacre in 1847, and the conclusion of the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which placed the boundary line several degrees north of the Lower Columbia.

Mountain House.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable of the Company's posts was Mountain House. "Every precaution known to the traders," writes a visitor of thirty years ago, "has been put in force to prevent the possibility of a surprise during 'a trade.' Bars and bolts, and places to fire down at the Indians who are trading, abound in every direction; so dreaded is the name borne by the Blackfeet, that it is thus their trading-post has been constructed." Eighty years ago, the Company had a post far south of the Bow River, in the very heart of the Blackfeet country; but, despite all precautions, it was frequently plundered and finally burnt down by the Blackfeet, and no attempt was since made to construct another fort in their country.

The hilly country around Fort Pitt was frequently the scenes of Indian ambush and attack, and on more than one occasion the post itself has been captured by the Blackfeet. The surroundings are a favourite camping-ground of the Crees; and it was found difficult to persuade the Blackfeet that the factors and traders there are not the active friends and allies of their enemies. In fact, they regarded both Fort Pitt and

Fort Carlton as places belonging to another company from that which ruled at Mountain House and Edmonton. "If it was the same company," they were wont to say, "how could they give our enemies the Crees guns and powder; for do they not give us guns and powder too?"

The strength of the Company throughout the vast region where their rule was paramount, was rather a moral strength than a physical one. Its roots lay deep in the heart of the savage, who in time came to regard the great corporation as the embodiment of all that was good, and great, and true, and powerful. He knew that under its sway justice was secured to him; that if innocent he would be unharmed, that if guilty he would inevitably pay the penalty of his transgression. The prairie was wide, the forests were trackless, but in all those thousands of miles there came to be no haven for the horse-thief, the incendiary, or the murderer, where he would be free, in his beleaguered fastness, to elude or defy Nemesis. The Company made it its business to find and punish the real offender; they did not avenge themselves on his friends or tribe. But punishment was certain—blood was paid for in blood, and there was no trial. Often did an intrepid factor, trader, or clerk enter a hostile camp, himself destitute of followers, walk up to the trembling malefactor, raise his gun or pistol, take aim, fire, and seeing his man fall, stalk away again to the nearest fort.

"This certainty of punishment," it was said, "acted upon the savage mind with all the power of a superstition. Felons trembled before the white man's justice as in the presence of the Almighty."

That sense of injustice which rankled in the bosoms of the other Indians of the Continent, causing them to continually break out and give battle to their tormentors and oppressors—a warfare which, in 1870, had cost the United States more than five hundred million of dollars, could not exist. The Red men, as Red men, could have no well-founded grievance against the Company, which treated both white and red with equity.

The Great Company's policy.

"I have no hesitation in attributing the great success attendant for so many years upon the Indian policy of the Hudson's Bay Company," wrote an American Commissioner, Lieutenant Scott, in 1867, "to the following facts:—

"The savages are treated justly—receiving protection in life and property from the laws which they are forced to obey.

"There is no Indian Bureau with attendant complications.

"There is no pretended recognition of the Indian's title in fee-simple to the lands on which he roams for fish or game.

"Intoxicating liquors were not introduced amongst these people so long as the Hudson's Bay Company preserved the monopoly of trade.

"Prompt punishment follows the perpetration of crime, and from time to time the presence of a gunboat serves to remind the savages along the coast of the power of their masters. Not more than two years ago the Fort Rupert Indians were

severely punished for refusing to deliver up certain animals demanded by the civil magistrate. Their village was bombarded and completely destroyed by Her Britannic Majesty's gunboat *Clio*."

What was the direct consequence of such a policy? That among distant and powerful tribes trading-posts were built and maintained, well stocked with goods tempting to savage cupidity, yet peacefully conducted by one or two white men. There was not a regular soldier in all this territory (except the marines on shipboard and at Esquimault), and yet white men could hunt through the length and breadth of the land in security almost absolute.

Search all Europe and Asia, and you will find no parallel to the present sway of the Company, for it feeds and clothes, amuses and instructs, as well as rules nine-tenths of its subjects, from the Esquimaux tribes of Ungava to the Loucheaux at Fort Simpson, thousands of miles away—all look to it as to a father.

Slight is the communication with the outside world; the thread that binds is encrusted with hoar frost, yet it reaches far away to that little island in the North Sea which we call Britain. If these strong men, immured for years in the icy wildernesses, are moved by the news which comes to them twice in the year, through a thousand miles and more of snow, it is British news; and our victory at Omdurman sent a patriotic thrill through thousands of bosoms six months after it became known to the Englishman at home.

APPENDIX

THE HUDSON'S BAY POSTS

In their Report of 28th June 1872, the Governor and Committee report the details of the varied posts from Ocean to Ocean of the Hudson's Bay Company, as follows :—

Statement of Land belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, *exclusive of their claim to one-twentieth of the Land set out for settlement in the "Fertile Belt."*

District.		Post.	Acres of Land.
Lake Huron	1	La Cloche	6400
Temiscaminque	2	Kakababeagino	10
Superior	3	Long Lake	10
United States	4	Georgetown	1133
Manitoba, or Red River Settlement	5	Fort Garry	500
	6	Lower Fort	500
	7	White Horse Plains	500
Manitoba Lake	8	Oak Point	50
Portage la Prairie	9		1000
Lac la Pluie	10	Fort Alexander	500
	11	Fort Frances	500
	12	Eagle's Nest	20
	13	Big Island	20
	14	Lac du Bennet	20
	15	Rat Portage	50
	16	Shoal Lake	20
	17	Lake of the Woods	50
	18	White Fish Lake	20
	19	English River	20
	20	Hungry Hall	20
	21	Trout Lake	20

District.		Post.	Acres of Land.
Lac la Pluie	22	Clear Water Lake	20
	23	Sandy Point	20
Swan River	24	Fort Pelly	3000
	25	Fort Ellice	3000
	26	Qu'Appelle Lakes	2500
	27	Touchwood Hills	500
	28	Shoal River	50
	29	Manitoban	50
	30	Fairford	100
Cumberland	31	Cumberland House	100
	32	Fort la Corne	3000
	33	Pelican Lake	50
	34	Moose Woods	1000
	35	The Pas	25
	36	Moose Lake	50
	37	Grand Rapid Portage	100 50 Acres at each end of Portage.
Saskatchewan	38	Edmonton House	3000
	39	Rocky Mountain House	500
	40	Fort Victoria	3000
	41	St. Paul	3000
	42	Fort Pitt	3000
	43	Battle River	3000
	44	Carlton House	3000
	45	Fort Albert	3000
	46	Whitefish Lake	500
	47	Lac la Biche	1000
	48	Fort Assiniboine	50
	49	Lesser Slave Lake	500
	50	Lac St. Anne	500
	51	Lac la Nun	500
	52	St. Albert	1000
	53	Pigeon Lake	100
	54	Old White Mud Fort	50
English River	55	Isle à la Crosse	50
	56	Rapid River	5
	57	Portage da Loche	20

District.		Post.	Acres of Land.
English River	58	Green Lake	100
	59	Cold Lake	10
	60	Deers Lake	5
York	61	York Factory	100
	62	Churchill	10
	63	Severn	10
	64	Trout Lake	10
	65	Oxford	100
	66	Jackson's Bay	10
	67	God's Lake	10
	68	Island Lake	10
Norway House	69	Norway House	100
	70	Berens River	25
	71	Grand Rapid	10
	72	Nelson's River	10
Albany	73	Albany Factory	100
	74	Martin's Falls	10
	75	Osnaburg	25
	76	Lac Seul	500
East Main	77	Little Whale River	50
	78	Great Whale River	50
	79	Fort George	25
Moose	80	Moose Factory	100
	81	Hannah Bay	10
	82	Abitibi	10
	83	New Brunswick	25
Rupert's River	84	Rupert's House	50
	85	Mistassing	10
	86	Temiskamay	10
	87	Woswonaby	10
	88	Meehiskun	10
	89	Pike Lake	10
	90	Nitchequon	10
	91	Kamapiscan	10
Kinogumissee	92	Matawagauinque	50
	93	Kuckatoosh	10

District.		Post.	Acres of Land.
Labrador	94	Fort Nascopie	75
	95	Outposts do.	25
	96	Fort Chimo (Ungava)	100
	97	South River, Outposts	30
	98	George's River	50
	99	Whale River	50
	100	North's River	25
	101	False River	25
Athabasca	102	Fort Chippewyan	10
	103	Fort Vermilion	500
	104	Fort Dunvegan	50
	105	Fort St. John's	20
	106	Forks of Athabasca River	10
	107	Battle River	5
	108	Fond du Lac	5
	109	Salt River	5
McKenzie River	110	Fort Simpson	100
	111	Fort Liard	300
	112	Fort Nelson	200
	113	The Rapids	100
	114	Hay River	20
	115	Fort Resolution	20
	116	Fort Rae	10
	117	Fond du Lac	10
	118	Fort Norman	10
	119	Fort Good Hope	10
	120	Peel's River	10
	121	Lapierre's House	10
	122	Fort Halkett	100

WESTERN DEPARTMENT.

District.		Post.	Acres of Land.
Vancouver's Island.....	123	Victoria, including Town Lots about.....	70
	124	Esquimault (Puget's Sound Company's Land).....	2300
	125	Uplands Farm.....	1125
	126	North Dairy Farm.....	460
British Columbia.....	127	Fort Alexander.....	100
	128	Fort George.....	100
	129	Fraser's Lake.....	100
	130	Stuart's Lake.....	100
	131	McLeod's Lake.....	100
	132	Connolly's Lake.....	100
	133	Babine.....	100
	134	Chilcotin.....	100
		Five other places.....	100
	135	Fort Dallas.....	50
	136	Fort Berens.....	50
	137	Fort Shepherd.....	100
	138	Fort Simpson.....	100
	139	Salmon River.....	50
	140	Langley and Langley Farm	2220
	141	Yale, sundry small blocks	
	142	Hope.....	5
	143	Kamloops.....	1976
	144	Similkameen.....	1140
		Barkerville..... }	Town
		Quesnel..... }	Lots.

ROYAL CHARTER

INCORPORATING THE HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY

Granted by His Majesty King Charles the Second, in the 22nd Year of his Reign, A.D. 1670

CHARLES THE SECOND, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

WHEREAS our dear entirely beloved Cousin, Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria and Cumberland, &c.; Christopher Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, Henry Lord Arlington, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, and Sir Robert Vyner, Knights and Baronets; Sir Peter Colleton, Baronet; Sir Edward Hungerford, Knight of the Bath; Sir Paul Neele, Knight; Sir John Griffith and Sir Philip Carteret, Knights; James Hayes, John Kirk, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Fenn, Esquires; and John Portman, Citizen and Goldsmith of London; have, at their own great cost, and charges, undertaken an expedition for Hudson's Bay in the north-west part of America, for the discovery of a new passage into the South Sea, and for the finding some trade for furs, minerals, and other considerable commodities, and by such their undertaking have already made such discoveries as to encourage them to proceed further in pursuance of their said design, by means whereof there may probably arise very great advantages to us and our kingdom.

And whereas the said undertakers, for their further encouragement in the said design, have humbly besought us to

CHARLES the Second by the grace

Photograph of the beginning and end of the Charter of Incorporation granted by King Charles the Second to the Hudson's Bay Company

incorporate them, and grant unto them and their successors the sole trade and commerce of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits commonly called the Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coast and confines of the seas, straits, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks, and sounds aforesaid, which are not now actually possessed by any of our subjects, or by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State.

Now know ye, that we, being desirous to promote all endeavours tending to the public good of our people, and to encourage the said undertaking, have, of our especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, given, granted, ratified and confirmed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give, grant, ratify and confirm, unto our said Cousin, Prince Rupert, Christopher Duke of Albemarle, William Earl of Craven, Henry Lord Arlington, Anthony Lord Ashley, Sir John Robinson, Sir Robert Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir Paul Neele, Sir John Griffith and Sir Philip Carteret, James Hayes, John Kirk, Francis Millington, William Prettyman, John Fenn and John Portman, that they, and such others as shall be admitted into the said society as is hereafter expressed, shall be one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, by the name of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," and them by the name of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay," one body corporate and politic, in deed and in name, really and fully forever, for us, our heirs and successors, we do make, ordain, constitute, establish, confirm and declare by these presents, and that by the same name of Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, they shall have perpetual succession, and that they and their successors, by the name of The Governor and Company of Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay, be,

and at all times hereafter shall be personable and capable in law to have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy and retain lands, rents, privileges, liberties, jurisdictions, franchises, and hereditaments, of what kind, nature or quality soever they be, to them and their successors; and also to give, grant, demise, alien, assign and dispose lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and to do and execute all and singular other things by the same name that to them shall or may appertain to do; and that they and their successors, by the name of The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, may plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, in whatsoever courts and places, before whatsoever judges and justices and other persons and officers, in all and singular actions, pleas, suits, quarrels, causes and demands whatsoever, of whatsoever kind, nature or sort, in such manner and form as any other our liege people of this our realm of England, being persons able and capable in law, may or can have, purchase, receive, possess, enjoy, retain, give, grant, demise, alien, assign, dispose, plead, defend and be defended, do, permit and execute: and that the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and their successors, may have a common seal to serve for all the causes and businesses of them and their successors, and that it shall and may be lawful to the said Governor and Company, and their successors, the same seal, from time to time, at their will and pleasure, to break, change, and to make anew or alter, as to them shall seem expedient.

And further we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do ordain that there shall be from henceforth one of the same company to be elected and appointed in such form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called the Governor of the said Company; and that the said Governor and Company shall or may select seven of their number, and in such form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which shall be called the Committee of the said

Company, which Committee of seven, or any three of them, together with the Governor or Deputy-Governor of the said Company for the time being shall have the direction of the voyages of and for the said Company, and the provision of the shipping and merchandises thereunto belonging, and also the sale of all merchandises, goods and other things returned, in all or any the voyages or ships of or for the said Company, and the managing and handling of all other business, affairs and things belonging to the said Company: And we will, ordain and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that they, the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall from henceforth for ever be ruled, ordered and governed according to such manner and form as is hereafter in these presents expressed, and not otherwise; and that they shall have, hold, retain and enjoy the grants, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions and immunities only hereafter in these presents granted and expressed, and no other: And for the better execution of our will and grant in this behalf we have assigned, nominated, constituted and made, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do assign, constitute and make our said Cousin Prince Rupert, to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and to continue in the said office from the date of these presents until the 10th November then next following, if he, the said Prince Rupert, shall so long live, and so until a new Governor be chosen by the said Company in form hereafter expressed: And also we have assigned, nominated and appointed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do assign, nominate and constitute the said Sir John Robinson, Sir John Vyner, Sir Peter Colleton, James Hayes, John Kirk, Francis Millington and John Portman to be the seven first and present Committee of the said Company, from the date of these presents until the said 10th day of November then also next following, and so on until new Committees shall be chosen in form hereafter ex-

pressed: And further we will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them present at any public assembly, commonly called the Court General, to be holden for the said Company, the Governor of the said Company being always one, from time to time elect, nominate and appoint one of the said Company to be Deputy to the said Governor, which Deputy shall take a corporal oath, before the Governor and three or more of the Committee of the said Company for the time being, well, truly and faithfully to execute his said office of Deputy to the Governor of the said Company, and after his oath so taken, shall and may from time to time, in the absence of the said Governor, exercise and execute the office of Governor of the said Company, in such sort as the said Governor ought to do: And further we will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, and their successors, that they, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor for the time being or his Deputy to be one, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall and may have authority and power, yearly and every year, between the first and last day of November, to assemble and meet together in some convenient place, to be appointed from time to time by the Governor, or in his absence by the Deputy of the said Governor for the time being, and that they being so assembled, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor or Deputy of the said Governor, and the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governor of the said Company or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate one of the said Company, which shall be Governor of the said Company for one whole year then next following, which person being so

elected and nominated to be Governor of the said Company, as is aforesaid, before he be admitted to the execution of the said office, shall take a corporal oath before the last Governor, being his predecessor, or his Deputy, and any three or more of the Committee of the said Company for the time being, that he shall from time to time well and truly execute the office of Governor of the said Company in all things concerning the same; and that immediately after the said oath so taken he shall and may execute and use the said office of Governor of the said Company for one whole year from thence next following: And in like sort we will and grant that as well every one of the above-named to be of the said Company of fellowship, as all others hereafter to be admitted or free of the said Company, shall take a corporal oath before the Governor of the said Company or his Deputy for the time being to such effect as by the said Governor and Company or the greater part of them in any public Court to be held for the said Company, shall be in reasonable and legal manner set down and devised, before they shall be allowed or admitted to trade or traffic as a freeman of the said Company: And further we will and grant by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that the said Governor or Deputy-Governor, and the rest of the said Company, and their successors for the time being, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy-Governor from time to time to be one, shall and may from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have power and authority, yearly and every year, between the first and last day of November, to assemble and meet together in some convenient place, from time to time to be appointed by the said Governor of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputy; and that they being so assembled, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor or his Deputy, and the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them which then shall happen to be present, whereof the Governor of the

said Company or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to elect and nominate seven of the said Company, which shall be a Committee of the said Company for one whole year from thence next ensuing, which persons being so elected and nominated to be a Committee of the said Company as aforesaid, before they be admitted to the execution of their office, shall take a corporal oath before the Governor or his Deputy, and any three or more of the said Committee of the said Company, being their last predecessors, that they and every of them shall well and faithfully perform their said office of Committees in all things concerning the same, and that immediately after the said oath so taken, they shall and may execute and use their said office of Committees of the said Company for one whole year from thence next following: And moreover, our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant under the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that when and as often as it shall happen, the Governor or Deputy-Governor of the said Company for the time being, at any time within one year after that he shall be nominated, elected and sworn to the office of the Governor of the said Company as is aforesaid, to die or to be removed from the said office, which Governor or Deputy-Governor not demeaning himself well in his said office WE WILL to be removable at the pleasure of the rest of the said Company, or the greater part of them which shall be present at their public assemblies commonly called their General Courts, holden for the said Company, that then and so often it shall and may be lawful to and for the residue of the said Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, within a convenient time after the death or removing of any such Governor or Deputy-Governor, to assemble themselves in such convenient place as they shall think fit, for the election of the Governor or the Deputy-Governor of the said Company; and that the said Company, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall and may, then and there, before their departure

from the said place, elect and nominate one other of the said Company to be Governor or Deputy-Governor for the said Company in the place and stead of him that so died or was removed; which person being so elected and nominated to the office of Governor or Deputy-Governor of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said office for and during the residue of the next year, taking first a corporal oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof; and this to be done from time to time so often as the case shall so require: And also our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, WE DO GRANT unto the said Governor and Company, that when and as often as it shall happen any person or persons of the Committee of the said Company for the time being, at any time within one year next after they or any of them shall be nominated, elected and sworn to the office of Committee of the said Company as is aforesaid, to die or to be removed from the said office, which Committees not demeaning themselves well in their said office, we will to be removable at the pleasure of the said Governor and Company or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor of the said Company for the time being or his Deputy to be one, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor, and the rest of the Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor for the time being or his Deputy to be one, within convenient time after the death or removing of any of the said Committee, to assemble themselves in such convenient place as is or shall be usual and accustomed for the election of the Governor of the said Company, or where else the Governor of the said Company for the time being or his Deputy shall appoint: And that the said Governor and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor for the time being or his Deputy to be one, being then and there present, shall and may, then and there, before their departure from the said place, elect and nominate one or more of the said Company to be the Committee

of the said Company in the place and stead of him or them that so died, or were or was so removed, which person or persons so nominated and elected to the office of Committee of the said Company, shall have and exercise the said office for and during the residue of the said year, taking first a corporal oath, as is aforesaid, for the due execution thereof, and this to be done from time to time, so often as the case shall require :

And to the end the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay may be encouraged to undertake and effectually to prosecute the said design, of our more especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given, granted and confirmed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give, grant and confirm, unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, the sole trade and commerce of all these seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance of the straits, commonly called Hudson's Straits, together with all the lands and territories upon the countries, coasts, and confines of the seas, bays, lakes, rivers, creeks and sounds aforesaid, that are not already actually possessed by or granted to any of our subjects, or possessed by the subjects of any other Christian Prince or State, with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons and all other royal fishes, in the seas, bays, inlets and rivers within the premises, and the fish therein taken, together with the royalty of the sea upon the coasts within the limits aforesaid, and all mines royal, as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems and precious stones, to be found or discovered within the territories, limits and places aforesaid, and that the said land be from henceforth reckoned and reputed as one of our plantations or colonies in America, called "Rupert's Land."

And further we do, by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, make, create, and constitute the said Governor and Company for the time being, and their successors, the true and

absolute lords and proprietors of the same territory, limits and places, and of all other the premises, saving always the faith, allegiance and sovereign dominion due to us, our heirs and successors, for the same to have, hold, possess and enjoy the said territory, limits and places, and all and singular other the premises hereby granted as aforesaid, with their and every of their rights, members, jurisdictions, prerogatives, royalties and appurtenances whatsoever, to them the said Governor and Company, and their successors for ever, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our manner at East Greenwich, in our County of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite or by Knight's service, yielding and paying yearly to us, our heirs and successors, for the same, two elks and two black beavers, whensoever and as often as we, our heirs and successors, shall happen to enter into the said countries, territories and regions hereby granted.

And further, our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their successors, from time to time, to assemble themselves, for or about any the matters, causes, affairs, or business of the said trade, in any place or places for the same convenient, within our dominions or elsewhere, and there to hold Court for the said Company and the affairs thereof; and that also, it shall and may be lawful to and for them, and the greater part of them, being so assembled, and that shall then and there be present, in any such place or places, whereof the Governor or his Deputy for the time being to be one, to make, ordain and constitute such and so many reasonable laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances as to them, or the greater part of them, being then and there present, shall seem necessary and convenient for the good government of the said Company, and of all governors of colonies, forts and plantations, factors, masters, mariners and other officers employed or to be employed

in any of the territories and lands aforesaid, and in any of their voyages, and for the better advancement and continuance of the said trade or traffic and plantations, and the same laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances so made, to put in use and execute accordingly, and at their pleasure to revoke and alter the same or any of them, as the occasion shall require: And that the said Governor and Company, so often as they shall make, ordain or establish any such laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, in such form as aforesaid shall and may lawfully impose, ordain, limit and provide such pains, penalties and punishments upon all offenders, contrary to such laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, or any of them, as to the said Governor and Company for the time being, or the greater part of them, then and there being present, the said Governor or his Deputy being always one, shall seem necessary, requisite or convenient for the observation of the same laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances; and the same fines and amerciaments shall and may, by their officers and servants from time to time to be appointed for that purpose, levy, take and have, to the use of the said Governor and Company, and their successors, without the impediment of us, our heirs or successors, or any of the officers or ministers of us, our heirs or successors, and without any account therefore to us, our heirs or successors, to be made: All and singular which laws, constitutions, orders, and ordinances, so as aforesaid to be made, we will to be duly observed and kept under the pains and penalties therein to be contained; so always as the said laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, fines and amerciaments, be reasonable and not contrary or repugnant, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws, statutes or customs of this our realm.

And furthermore, of our ample and abundant grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we have granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that they and their successors, and their factors, servants and agents,

for them and on their behalf, and not otherwise, shall forever hereafter have, use and enjoy, not only the whole, entire, and only trade and traffic, and the whole, entire, and only liberty, use and privilege of trading and trafficking to and from the territory, limits and places aforesaid, but also the whole and entire trade and traffic to and from all havens, bays, creeks, rivers, lakes and seas, into which they shall find entrance or passage by water or land out of the territories, limits and places aforesaid; and to and with all the natives and people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within the territories, limits and places aforesaid; and to and with all other nations inhabiting any the coasts adjacent to the said territories, limits and places which are not already possessed as aforesaid, or whereof the sole liberty or privilege of trade and traffic is not granted to any other of our subjects.

And we, of our further Royal favour, and of our more especial grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant to the said Governor and Company, and to their successors, that neither the said territories, limits and places hereby granted as aforesaid, nor any part thereof, nor the islands, havens, ports, cities, towns, or places thereof or therein contained, shall be visited, frequented or haunted by any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, and by virtue of our prerogative royal, which we will not have in that behalf argued or brought into question: We straightly charge, command and prohibit for us, our heirs and successors, all the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, of what degree or quality soever they be, that none of them, directly or indirectly do visit, haunt, frequent, or trade, traffic, or adventure, by way of merchandise, into or from any of the said territories, limits, or places hereby granted, or any or either of them, other than the said Governor and Company, and such particular persons as now be or hereafter shall be of that Company, their agents, factors and

assigns, unless it be by the license and agreement of the said Governor and Company in writing first had and obtained, under their common seal, to be granted upon pain that every such person or persons that shall trade or traffic into or from any of the countries, territories or limits aforesaid, other than the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall incur our indignation, and the forfeiture and the loss of the goods, merchandises and other things whatsoever, which so shall be brought into this realm of England, or any of the dominions of the same, contrary to our said prohibition, or the purport or true meaning of these presents, or which the said Governor and Company shall find, take and seize in other places out of our dominion, where the said Company, their agents, factors or ministers shall trade, traffic or inhabit by the virtue of these our letters patent, as also the ship and ships, with the furniture thereof, wherein such goods, merchandises and other things shall be brought and found; and one-half of all the said forfeitures to be to us, our heirs and successors, and the other half thereof we do, by these presents, clearly and wholly, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors: And further, all and every the said offenders, for their said contempt, to suffer such other punishment as to us, our heirs and successors, for so high a contempt, shall seem meet and convenient, and not be in any wise delivered until they and every of them shall become bound unto the said Governor for the time being in the sum of one thousand pounds at the least, at no time then after to trade or traffic into any of the said places, seas, straits, bays, ports, havens or territories aforesaid, contrary to our express commandment in that behalf set down and published: And further, of our more especial grace, we have condescended and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that we our heirs and successors, will not grant liberty, license or power to any person,

or persons whatsoever, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patent, to trade, traffic or inhabit, unto or upon any of the territories, limits or places afore specified, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the said Governor and Company, or the most part of them: And, of our more abundant grace and favour of the said Governor and Company, we do hereby declare our will and pleasure to be, that if it shall so happen that any of the persons free or to be free of the said Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, who shall, before the going forth of any ship or ships appointed for a voyage or otherwise, promise or agree, by writing under his or their hands, to adventure any sum or sums of money towards the furnishing any provision, or maintenance of any voyage or voyages, set forth or to be set forth, or intended or meant to be set forth, by the said Governor and Company, or the most part of them present at any public assembly, commonly called their General Court, shall not, within the space of twenty days next after warning given to him or them by the said Governor or Company, or their known officer or minister, bring in and deliver to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed for the Company, such sums of money as shall have been expressed and set down in writing by the said person or persons, subscribed with the name of the said Adventurer or Adventurers, that then and at all times after it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, or the more part of them present, whereof the said Governor or his Deputy to be one, at any of their general Courts or general assemblies, to remove and disfranchise him or them, and every such person and persons at their wills and pleasures, and he or they so removed and disfranchised, not to be permitted to trade into the countries, territories, and limits aforesaid, or any part thereof, nor to have any adventure or stock going or remaining with or amongst the said Company, without the special license of the said Governor and Company, or the more part of them present at any General Court, first

had and obtained in that behalf, any thing before in these presents to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. And our will and pleasure is, and hereby we do also ordain, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governor for the time being or his Deputy to be one, to admit into and to be of the said Company all such servants or factors, of or for the said Company, and all such others as to them or the most part of them present, at any Court held for the said Company, the Governor or his Deputy being one, shall be thought fit and agreeable with the orders and ordinances made and to be made for the Government of the said Company: And further, our will and pleasure is, and by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Governor and Company, and to their successors, that it shall and may be lawful in all elections and bye-laws to be made by the General Court of the Adventurers of the said Company, that every person shall have a number of votes according to his stock, that is to say, for every hundred pounds by him subscribed or brought into the present stock, one vote, and that any of those that have subscribed less than one hundred pounds, may join their respective sums to make up one hundred pounds, and have one vote jointly for the same, and not otherwise: And further, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, grant to and with the said Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay, that all lands, islands, territories, plantations, forts, fortifications, factories or colonies, where the said Company's factories and trade are or shall be, within any of the ports or places afore limited, shall be immediately and from henceforth under the power and command of the said Governor and Company, their successors and assigns; saving the faith and allegiance due to be performed to us, our heirs and successors, as aforesaid; and that the said Governor and Company shall have liberty, full

power and authority to appoint and establish Governors and all other officers to govern them, and that the Governor and his Council of the several and respective places where the said Company shall have plantations, forts, factories, colonies or places of trade within any of the countries, lands, or territories hereby granted, may have power to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company, or that shall live under them, in all causes, whether civil or criminal, according to the laws of the kingdom, and to execute justice accordingly; and in case any crime or misdemeanour shall be committed in any of the said Company's plantations, forts, factories, or places of trade within the limits aforesaid, where judicature cannot be executed for want of a Governor and Council there, then in such case it shall and may be lawful for the chief factor of that place and his Council to transmit the party, together with the offence, to such other plantations, factory or fort where there shall be a Governor and Council, where justice may be executed, or into this Kingdom of England, as shall be thought most convenient, there to receive such punishment as the nature of his offence shall deserve: And moreover, our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do give and grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, free liberty and license, in case they conceive it necessary, to send either ships of war, men or ammunition into any of their plantations, forts, factories, or places of trade aforesaid, for the security and defence of the same, and to choose commanders and officers over them, and to give them power and authority, by commission under their common seal, or otherwise, to continue to make peace or war with any prince or people whatsoever, that are not Christians, in any place where the said Company shall have any plantations, forts or factories, or adjacent thereto, and shall be most for the advantage and benefit of the said Governor and Company and of their trade; and also to right and recompense themselves upon the goods, estates, or people of those parts, by whom the

said Governor and Company shall sustain any injury, loss or damage, or upon any other people whatsoever, that shall in any way, contrary to the intent of these presents, interrupt, wrong or injure them in their trade, within the said places, territories and limits granted by this Charter: And that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their successors from time to time, and at all times from henceforth, to erect and build such castles, fortifications, forts, garrisons, colonies or plantations, towns or villages, in any parts or places within the limits and bounds granted before in these presents unto the said Governor and Company, as they in their discretion shall think fit and requisite, and for the supply of such as shall be needful and convenient to keep and be in the same, to send out of this kingdom to the said castles, forts, fortifications, garrisons, colonies, plantations, towns or villages, all kinds of clothing, provisions or victuals, ammunition and implements necessary for such purpose, paying the duties and customs for the same, as also to transport and carry over such number of men being willing thereunto, or not prohibited, as they shall think fit, and also to govern them in such legal and reasonable manner as the said Governor and Company shall think best, and to inflict punishment for misdemeanours, or impose such fines upon them for breach of their orders as in these presents are formally expressed: And further, our will and pleasure is, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, we do grant unto the said Governor and Company, and to their successors, full power and lawful authority to seize upon the persons of all such English, or any other our subjects, which shall sail into Hudson's Bay, or inhabit in any of the countries, islands or territories hereby granted to the said Governor and Company, without their leave and license, and in that behalf first had and obtained, or that shall contemn and disobey their orders, and send them to England; and that all and every person and persons, being our subjects, any ways employed by the said

Governor and Company, within any the parts, places and limits aforesaid, shall be liable unto and suffer such punishment for any offences by them committed in the parts aforesaid, as the President and Council for the said Governor and Company there shall think fit, and the merit of the offence shall require, as aforesaid; and in case any person or persons being convicted and sentenced by the President and Council of the said Governor and Company, in the countries, lands or limits aforesaid, their factors or agents there, for any offence by them done, shall appeal from the same, that then and in such case it shall and may be lawful to and for the said President and Council, factors or agents, to seize upon him or them, and to carry him or them home prisoners into England, to the said Governor and Company, there to receive such condign punishment as his case shall require, and the law of this nation allow of; and for the better discovery of abuses and injuries to be done unto the said Governor and Company, or their successors, by any servant by them to be employed in the said voyages and plantations, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor and Company, and their respective President, Chief Agent or Governor in the parts aforesaid, to examine upon oath all factors, masters, pursers, supercargoes, commanders of castles, forts, fortifications, plantations or colonies, or other persons, touching or concerning any matter or thing in which by law or usage an oath may be administered, so as the said oath, and the matter therein contained be not repugnant, but agreeable to the laws of this realm: And we do hereby straightly charge and command all and singular our Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Constables, Bailiffs, and all and singular other our officers, ministers, liegemen and subjects whatsoever to be aiding, favouring, helping and assisting to the said Governor and Company, and to their successors, and their deputies, officers, factors, servants, assigns and ministers, and every of them, in executing and enjoying the premises, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, when any of you shall thereunto

be required; any statute, act, ordinance, proviso, proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained or provided. or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding.

In witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patent.

Witness ourselves at Winchester, the second day of May, in the two-and-twentieth year of our reign.

By Writ of the Privy Seal.

PIGOTT.

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY QUESTION.

It has been said that but for the Hudson's Bay Company British Columbia would not have been preserved to the British Crown. On the Imperial frontier to the far north and west the Company early established its posts, and vigorously sought to maintain them against, first, Russian, and afterwards American, aggression.

The American purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867 included a strip of the coast (*lisière de côte*) extending from north latitude 54° 40′ to the region of Mt. St. Elias. It was generally understood that this strip was separated from the British possessions by a mountain range (then believed to exist) parallel to the coast, as in event of this range being too remote, by a line parallel to the windings (*sinuosités*) of the coast, nowhere greater than ten marine leagues from the same. Of course the strip was not designed to be continuous from the parallel of 54° 40′ north latitude. The recent Klondike gold discoveries and great development of the North-West have shown the singular value of this strip, which the American authorities, ignoring the exact provisions of the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825, have assumed to be their territory. Some of them have perceived the weakness of their case. One of these, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, uses this language:

"Arbitration is compromise. . . . Once before a board of arbitration, the English Government has only to set up and vigorously urge all its claims, and more that can easily be invented, and *it is all but absolutely certain* that although *by tradition and equity* we should decline *to yield a foot of what we purchased* in good faith from Russia, and which has become doubly valuable to us by settlement and exploration, our *lisière* will be promptly broken into fragments, and with much show of impartiality divided between the two contracting parties." The italics are mine. Tradition and (the American idea of) equity are hardly equal to the language of a treaty negotiated so recently as 1825.[1]

Convention with Russia.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, being desirous of drawing still closer the ties of good understanding and friendship which unite them, by means of an agreement which may settle, upon the basis of reciprocal convenience, different points connected with the commerce, navigation, and fisheries of their subjects on the Pacific Ocean, as well as the limits of their respective possessions on the north-west coast of America, have named plenipotentiaries to conclude a convention for this purpose, that is to say—his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Hon. Stratford Canning, a member of his said Majesty's Most Hon. Privy Council, &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Charles Robert Count de Nesselrode, his Imperial Majesty's Privy Councillor, a member of the Council of the Empire, Secretary of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs, &c., and the Sieur Pierre de Poletica, his Imperial Majesty's Councillor of State, &c.; who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found

[1] T. C. Mendenhall, in *Atlantic Monthly* for April 1896.

in good and due form, have agreed upon and signed the following articles :—

Art. I.—It is agreed that the respective subjects of the high contracting parties shall not be troubled or molested, in any part of the ocean commonly called the Pacific Ocean, either in navigating the same, in fishing therein, or in landing at such parts of the coast as shall not have been already occupied, in order to trade with the natives, under the restrictions and conditions specified in the following articles.

II.—In order to prevent the right of navigating and fishing, exercised upon the ocean by the subjects of the high contracting parties, from becoming the pretext for an illicit commerce, it is agreed that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall not land at any place where there may be a Russian establishment, without the permission of the governor or commandant; and, on the other hand, that Russian subjects shall not land, without permission, at any British establishment on the north-west coast.

III.—The line of demarcation between the possessions of the high contracting parties, upon the coast of the continent, and the islands of America to the north-west, shall be drawn in the manner following :—Commencing from the southernmost point of the island called Prince of Wales' Island, which point lies in the parallel of 54 degrees, 40 minutes north latitude, and between the 131st and 133rd degree of west longitude (meridian of Greenwich), the said line shall ascend to the north along the channel called Portland Channel, as far as the point of the continent where it strikes the 56th degree of north latitude; from this last-mentioned point the line of demarcation shall follow the summits of the mountains situated parallel to the coast, as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude (of the same meridian); and, finally, from the said point of intersection, the said meridian line of the 141st degree in its prolongation as far as the Frozen Ocean, shall form the limit between the Russian and British possessions on the Continent of America to the north-west.

IV.—With reference to the line of demarcation laid down in the preceding article, it is understood:—

1st: That the island called Prince of Wales' Island shall belong wholly to Russia.

2nd: That wherever the summit of the mountains which extend in a direction parallel to the coast, from the 56th degree of north latitude to the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude, shall prove to be at the distance of more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the limit between the British possessions and the line of coast which is to belong to Russia, as above-mentioned, shall be formed by a line parallel to the windings of the coast, and which shall never exceed the distance of ten marine leagues therefrom.

V.—It is moreover agreed, that no establishment shall be formed by either of the two parties within the limits assigned by the two preceding articles to the possessions of the other; consequently, British subjects shall not form any establishment either upon the coast, or upon the border of the continent comprised within the limits of the Russian possessions as designated in the two preceding articles; and, in like manner, no establishment shall be formed by Russian subjects beyond the said limits.

VI.—It is understood that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty, from whatever quarter they may arrive, whether from the ocean or from the interior of the continent, shall forever enjoy the right of navigating freely, and without any hindrance whatever, all the rivers and streams which in their course towards the Pacific Ocean may cross the line of demarcation upon the line of coast described in Article III. of the present convention.

VII.—It is also understood, that for the space of ten years from the signature of the present convention, the vessels of the two powers, or those belonging to their respective subjects, shall mutually be at liberty to frequent without any hindrance whatever, all the inland seas, the gulfs, havens, and creeks on

the coast mentioned in Article III. for the purpose of fishing and of trading with the natives.

VIII.—The Port of Sitka, or Novo Archangelsk, shall be open to the commerce and vessels of British subjects for the space of ten years from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the present convention. In the event of an extension of this term of ten years being granted to any other power, the like extension shall be granted also to Great Britain.

IX.—The above-mentioned liberty of commerce shall not apply to the trade of spirituous liquors, in firearms or other arms, gunpowder or other warlike stores; the high contracting parties reciprocally engaging not to permit the above-mentioned articles to be sold or delivered in any manner whatever, to the natives of the country.

X.—Every British or Russian vessel navigating the Pacific Ocean, which may be compelled by storms or by accident to take shelter in the ports of the respective parties, shall be at liberty to refit therein, to provide itself with all necessary stores, and to put to sea again, without paying any other than port and lighthouse dues, which shall be the same as those paid by national vessels. In case, however, the master of such vessel should be under the necessity of disposing of a part of his merchandise in order to defray his expenses, he shall conform himself to the regulations and tariffs of the place where he may have landed.

XI.—In every case of complaint on account of an infraction of the articles of the present convention, the civil and military authorities of the high contracting parties, without previously acting or taking any forcible measure, shall make an exact and circumstantial report of the matter to their respective courts, who engage to settle the same in a friendly manner, and according to the principles of justice.

XII.—The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London, within the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at St. Petersburg, the 16th (28th) day of February, in the year of our Lord 1825.

STRATFORD CANNING.
THE COUNT DE NESSELRODE.
PIERRE DE POLETICA.

LOUISIANA BOUNDARIES AND THE COMPANY.

As a striking example of profitable zeal on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, I have come across some unpublished correspondence which, had my eye alighted upon it earlier, might have been incorporated with the text.

Under date of 11th March 1807, Lords Holland and Auckland wrote from Office of Trade, Whitehall, requesting some gentlemen of the Committee should attend to obtain information relative to certain boundaries on the frontiers of Louisiana, the line of which boundaries being under discussion and arrangement with the Commissioners and plenipotentiaries of the United States of America.

On the 13th March, the following letter was written to Lords Holland and Auckland:—

"MY LORDS,—The gentlemen who had the honour of seeing your Lordships on Tuesday upon the subject of the treaty now pending with the United States of America, understand your Lordships to propose a reciprocity of passage to a certain extent. The Governor and Committee of the Hudson's Bay Company do not feel themselves competent to give the subject their mature consideration, which its magnitude and importance to the interests of the proprietors require, till the extent to which

your Lordships propose to limit the American right of passage should have been made known to them. They therefore humbly request of your Lordships to point out to them those limits in the Hudson Bay territories within which the Americans shall be absolutely restricted, as, from the form in which the proposed Article is now understood, it appears to the Governor and Committee to give a power to the Americans of spreading themselves over the face of the whole country even to the very shores of the Bay, which your Lordships must see would be most destructive to the trade of the Company, and might ultimately prove most injurious to the fur trade of Great Britain.—I have, &c., with the highest respect,

"Wm. Mainwaring,
"*Deputy-Governor.*"

Reply.

"Whitehall, 15*th March* 1807.

"Sir,—We have received your letter of the 13th, signifying, &c. &c. (here a recapitulation thereof). We beg to express our thanks to the Governor and Committee for this communication. We confess that we have not reason to apprehend that the people of the United States will become our competitors in a trade into which they do not hitherto appear to have entered. And we have considered the proposed Article as given almost gratuitously to us, at our special request, for the benefit of the people of Canada and of the Hudson's Bay settlements, more especially as the Article includes a free access both to the Mississippi and the Missouri, which access we should be extremely unwilling to restrain.

"In deference, however, to the apprehensions expressed in your letter, and to prevent even the possibility of injury, we will now propose to insert the following words: '*The actual settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the immediate neighbourhood of those settlements always excepted.*'

"We trust that these words must be satisfactory to the Governor and Committee, and we are willing to hope that their insertion will not be resisted by the American plenipotentiaries, who have shown a *liberal and conciliatory disposition* on this subject.—We are, with truth and great regard, your obedient humble servants,

"HOLLAND.
"AUCKLAND.

"WM. MAINWARING, Esq."

Two years later John Jacob Astor's initiation of the "American Fur Company"—capital, one million dollars—showed that some Americans were prepared to become "our competitors in a trade into which they do not appear to have entered."

COST OF PROVISIONS IN 1804.

In May 1804, the Company contracted with Messrs. Davison, Newman & Co. to supply large quantities of groceries for the Bay at the following figures:—

	£	s.	d.	
Bohea tea	0	7	0	per lb.
Green tea	0	9	0	„
Loaf sugar	5	14	0	per cwt.
	5	16	0	
Moist sugar	4	0	0	„
Rice	1	4	0	„
Chocolate	0	5	0	per lb.
Coffee	0	3	0	„
Mace	2	6	0	„
Nutmegs	0	16	0	„
Pepper	0	2	3	„
Vinegar	0	2	6	per gallon.
Lucca oil	0	16	0	„
Salt	0	6	9	per bushel.
Beef and pork remained at	11	0	0	per 300 lbs.

INDEX

ABBITIBI Lake, French settlement at, ii. 10

Aborigines, *see* Indians

Act (Ottawa) for the government of Hudson's Bay territory, ii. 295

Act of Parliament, offering a reward for the discovery of the North-West passage, i. 330, 332

Adventurers, petitions to Charles II. of, i. 2

Agricultural enterprise of the Company, ii. 248–250

Alaska, purchased by America, ii. 287, and *Appendix*, 336

Albanel, Père, mission of, i. 71, 72

Albany, the, Knight's expedition in, i. 268–271; account of the sufferings of Knight and the crew of, ii. 30–33

Albany, Fort, i. 108; besieged and taken by the French, 167–170; renamed by the French St. Anne, 177; a failure in the hands of the French, 187; regained by the English, 192, 193; story of the bushranger at, 193; unsuccessful attack (1704) of the French on, 243; shooting a Frenchman at, 244; 324, 329

Albemarle, (second) Duke of, i. 46 *note* 2, 107

Alert, the, i. 143

Alexander, Fort, ii. 161

Algonquin Indians, i. 43, 44, 51

Allen, Commander, i. 196 *note*

America, North, discovery of, and its influence on exploration, i. 3; English interest in, 3, 4; proposal to make it neutral, 174 *seqq.* (*See also* United States.)

Anian, Straits of, i. 269; Spanish claim to the discovery of, ii. 103; their place in early maps, 103, 104; the foundation of the story of their discovery, 104

Anne, Queen, petition of the Company to, i. 245, 246; espouses the cause of the Company, 249

Anonymous letter to Arthur Dobbs, i. 321, 322

Arctic Sea, the, Hearne's expedition to, ii. 49–50; Mackenzie's journey to, 86–91

Arlington, Lord, i. 24; introduces Groseilliers to Prince Rupert, 35; 47 *note*, 107

Ashburton, Lord, ii. 247

Ashley, Lord, i. 47 and *note*, 62, 63

Assiniboia, name of the district granted to the Earl of Selkirk ii. 147 *note*

Assiniboine Indians, i. 13; Groseilliers' sojourn with, 15; their knowledge of a route to Hudson's Bay, 15; 88, 223; character, habits, &c., 275, 280, 281

Astor, John Jacob, founder of Astoria (afterwards Fort George), ii. 156, 157
Astoria, ii. 156, 157, 177 *note*, 233, 235
Astronomers, sent out to Hudson's Bay to observe the transit of Venus, ii. 34, 35
Athabasca country, French trading operations in, i. 5 *note;* ii. 79, 86, 99, 157, 245
Athabasca, Fort, ii. 208
Athabasca Lake, ii. 86, 98
Avagour, M. d', i. 16
Azores, the, disaster to Prince Rupert's fleet at, i. 29, 30

Back, Lieut., ii. 241, 242
Bad Lake, ii. 119
Baffin, expedition of, i. 41
Bailey, Charles, Governor of Rupert's Land, i. 73; his distrust of Radisson, 74, 75; reported attempt of Radisson to shoot him, 76; approves of the plan to remove to Moose River, 78; suspects Groseilliers, 82, 83; superseded, 84; 207, 208, 220, 222
Baranoff, Russian governor of Kodiak, ii. 105, 106
Barillon, Sieur, i. 175
Barlow, Captain, Governor of Fort Albany, i. 242; commands the *Albany*, 268
Barre, M. de la, Governor of Quebec, i. 130, 137; letter of Lewis XIV. to him, 152, 153; 156; recalled, 158
Barrow, Sir John, ii. 21
Barthier, M., memoir by, i. 145
Battle off Fort Nelson, i. 199–209
Beads, manufacture of, for the New England trade, i. 65
Beaver, hunting for, i. 293; varieties of, 299, 300; best time for hunting, ii. 115; substituted by silk in the manufacture of hats, 243
Beaver Company, French, i. 5 *note*
Bell, Dr., his visit to the site of Fort Prince of Wales, ii. 76, 77
Berens, Thomas (a deputy-governor of the Company), ii. 36, 218, 271, 274
Bering, Captain Vitus, expedition of, i. 309, 310
Big Fall, ii. 116
Billings, Captain, ii. 105
Bison, the, skin of, i. 228
Black, Samuel, officer at Kamloops, ii. 306
Blackfeet Indians, ii. 307
Bladen, Martin, i. 257, 258, 260
Bodega, Spanish explorer, ii. 103
Bois-Brulés, literal meaning of the name, ii. 151 *note;* their descent and character, 152, 153; employed by the North-West Company, 153; their leader, 154; hostility to Lord Selkirk's immigrants, 160, 161; 179 *note;* their attack on the Red River colony, 187 *seqq.*
Bolingbroke, Lord, i. 253, 256
Bond, William, i. 222
Boston, visit of Groseilliers to, i. 19, 22, 23
Bourbon, Fort, i. 110, 114, 123, 228, 229; ii. 28
Bourbon River, i. 189
Bourdon, Jean, said to have entered Hudson's Bay, i. 54, 55 and *note*, 56
Bourepas, Sieur, i. 175
Bow River, ii. 307

Boyle, Robert, i. 36
Bridgar, John (Governor of Port Nelson), i. 98, 103, 104, 107; believes in Radisson's fictitious stories, 110; his suspicions of Radisson, 115; made prisoner, 123; sails in the *Susan* for England, 131; captured by the French, 166; 220
Bristol, surrender of, i. 26, 27, 33
British Columbia, ii. 253, 258
Brown, Hon. George, ii. 287
Brymner, Dr., on Groseilliers' name, i. 12 *note*
Buckingham and Chandos, Duke of, ii. 289, 290
Burnett, Governor of New York, i. 271
Bushrangers, the, trouble given by, i. 176, 214; their corrupt example, 301; ii. 79; ally themselves with the Indians, ii. 27; resistance to Canadian rule, 295–298
Butterfield, Mrs., letter on the South Sea Company from, i. 264
Button, Sir Thomas, i. 3; voyage to Hudson's Bay of, 40
Button's Bay, i. 41
Buying the Company, question of, ii. 269 *seqq.*

Cabot, i. 3, 4
Callieres, M. de, i. 56, 57
Cameron, Duncan, leader of hostilities against the Selkirk colonists, ii. 167 *seqq.*; taken prisoner by Colin Robertson, 184, 186
Canada: fur-trade carried on by the French, i. 5; priestly tyranny, 11; arrival of Groseilliers and Radisson, 10, 11; French activity and pretensions of sovereignty, 49 *seqq.*; attempt of New York to secure the Canadian fur-trade, 271–273; ancient boundaries, 272; conquest, ii. 16, 24; rivalry with the Company of Canadian traders, 62 *seqq.*, 78 *seqq.*; Jurisdiction Act, 132, 140; the Governor-General appoints commissioners to adjust the differences between the agents of the Company and of the North-West Company, 204; opposition of Toronto merchants to the Company, 265, 266; deputation to the Colonial Office (1868), 289 *seqq.*; acquires the Company's rights, 293 *seqq.*; its debt to the Company, 301
Capital of the Company, original, i. 70; increased to £31,500, 184
Capitulation of Fort York, terms of, i. 196 *note*
Cardwell, Mr., ii. 286
Cargoes taken out for bartering for furs, i. 65–67
Carlton, Fort, ii. 308
Carr, Colonel Robert, member of a commission sent to New England, i. 22; his letter to Lord Arlington, 24
Carruthers, Captain, ii. 7
Carteret, Sir Philip, i. 47
Cartier, Sir G. E., ii. 289
Cartwright, George, member of a commission sent to New England, i. 22
Catherine, Empress, orders the Bering expedition, i. 309
Champlain, surrender of Quebec by, i. 12
Chaplain, appointment of a, ii. 225
Charles I., accepts the services of

Prince Rupert, i. 26; reproaches Prince Rupert for his failure at the siege of Bristol, 27; his proclamation relative to beaver hats, 59 *note*
Charles II., revival of trade in the reign of, i. 2; grants territory in America to the Duke of York, 4; grants a charter to "The Governor and Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay," 7, 46; Prince Rupert's present to him, 31; friendship with Rupert, 32; the question as to the payment he received for the charter, 63, 64; his transference of Bombay to the East India Company, 64; receives Radisson (1684), 141; relations with Lewis XIV., 157
Charles Edward, Prince, his march on Edinburgh and escape to France, i. 327, 328; confiscation of his stock in the Company, 328
Charlevoix, i. 12 *note*, 54
Charlton Island, i. 41, 85, 170, 171; ii. 110
Charter, granted by Charles II. to the Company, ii. 46, 47 (and *Appendix*, 318–336); question of payment received by the King for granting it, 63, 64; confirmed in the reign of William III., 183, 184; the question as to its validity, 186; pronounced unassailable by the Committee of Inquiry (1749), ii. 11; 15 *note*; legal opinion on, 139–141
Charter granted by Lewis XIII. to adventurers in 1627, i. 53
Chechouan River, i. 81, 178
Chesnaye, M. de la (head of the Compagnie du Nord), approves of Radisson's plan for dislodging the Company at the Bay, i. 91, 92; his subterfuge for enabling Radisson to commence operations against the Company, 94, 95; 130; 158, 214
Chipewyan Fort, ii. 86, 92, 93, 98, 240
Chouart (son of Groseilliers), i. 95, 143, 145, 146, 150
Chouart, Medard, *see* Groseilliers
Christineaux River, i. 156
Churchill, i. 268, 270; ii. 71
Churchill, the, loss of, i. 172
Churchill, Lord, succeeds King James in the governorship of the Company, i. 173
Churchill River, ii. 44, 163
Clandestine trade at the Bay, ii. 20–23, 37–39; precautions against, 54
Clarendon, Lord Chancellor, laments Prince Rupert's lack of generosity towards his cousin, Charles Stuart, i. 30
Clatsop Point, murder of seamen at, ii. 237
Clowey, ii. 50
Coats, Captain, clandestine trading operations of, ii. 20–23
Colbert, M., i. 49, 52; his suspicions of Radisson, 89, 91; 286, 288
Cole, Captain, i. 76, 78
Colen, Governor, ii. 98
Colleton, Sir Peter, i. 47
Colonisation of North America, the Company proposes to undertake the, ii. 253
Colony Creek, ii. 163
Coltman, Colonel, ii. 204, 205
Columbia River, ii. 248, 251

Colville, Mr. Eden, ii. 277
Commission appointed by the Governor-General of Canada, ii. 204
Commission for regulating the boundaries of the Bay, i. 257
Committee Bay, ii. 259
Compagnie des Indes Occidentals, charter granted to, i. 7 *note* 1, 16
Compagnie du Nord, sends a fleet under Admiral Tast to Quebec, i. 188, 189; its view of the importance and power of the English Company, 191 *note*
Company of the Hundred Associates, fur-trade in Canada of, i. 5; its charter ceded to the Crown, 7 *note* 1; restricted trade of, 12
Competition of Canadian traders, ii. 62 *seqq.*, 78 *seqq.*
Confederation of British provinces in North America, ii. 288
Connecticut, its appeal to the Puritans of Boston for help against the Dutch, i. 22 *note*
Cook, Captain, ii. 96
Cook's River, ii. 92
Copper mines of the north, tales of, i. 267; ii. 41
Coppermine River, ii. 241, 242, 246
Corrigal, William, outrages by North-West men upon, ii. 119, 120; 132, 133, 135
Cortereal, Caspar de, ii. 104
Council at the Forts, the, ii. 57
Coureurs des bois, *see* Bushrangers
Craven, Lord, i. 36, 37, 46
Crear, John, attacked by a servant of the North-West Company, ii. 116, 117
Cree Indians, language, character, habits, &c., of, i. 277–280; ii. 207, 307
Crisis of 1808, ii. 122 *seqq.*
Crofton, Lieut.-Col., ii. 259
Croix, Sieur de la, i. 153
Cross, said to have been erected by Coture at the Great Bay, i. 16, 17
Cumberland House (Sturgeon Lake), built by Hearne, ii. 63
Curry, Thomas (free-trader), ii. 28, 29

DABLOU, Father, i. 55 and *note*, 57, 58
Daer, Fort, ii. 165
Dakota, ii. 247
Dallas, Mr. A. E., ii. 269, 280 *seqq.*, 283
Dalmas, Father, murder of, i. 193
D'Argenson, Sieur, i. 56, 58
Dartmouth, Lord, i. 254
Davis, Captain John, discovers "an open sea tending westward," i. 39
Davis' Straits, whale fishery at, i. 327
Delaware, State of, granted by Charles II. to the Duke of York, i. 4
Delisle, commandant at Port Nelson, i. 229
De Meuron, Colonel, ii. 182
Denonville, Marquis de, made Governor of Quebec, i. 158; 170, 176, 187, 188
Deputation from Canada to the Colonial Secretary (1868), ii. 289 *seqq.*
Dering, Mr. (Deputy-Governor), i. 150
Dering, the, i. 199, 201, 202
Diggs, Sir Dudley, i. 40
Dionne, Dr., i. 12 *note*
Dobbs, Arthur, originates expedi-

tions to explore the North-West passage, i. 310–321, 330; rejection of his petition to Parliament, 338, 339; examined by the Select Committee (1748–9), ii. 5
Dog-ribbed Indians, ii. 88, 89
Dongan, Governor, i, 55 *note*, 132 *note*, 138
Douglas, David, ii. 306
Douglas, Fort, ii. 164, 188, 191, 204
Douglas, Point, ii. 160
Douglas, Sir James, ii. 258
Drummond, Sir Gordon, ii. 181
Dryad affair, the, ii. 239
Dryden, at the sale of beaver at Garraway's, i. 61
Dubois, Abbé, i. 257
Duchesneau, Intendant, i. 93, 94
Duluth, Sieur, his trust in the Indians, i. 153, 154; his zeal on behalf of the French Government, 155, 156
Dupas, Seigneur d'Isle, i. 302
Duqué, Commander, i. 199
Duquet, Sieur, i. 56, 58
Dutch, the, driven from New Amsterdam, i. 4; their efforts to divert the fur-traffic to the Hudson, 18; attempt to force them to evacuate Manhattan, 22; Prince Rupert's operations against, 34; acknowledge allegiance to England on the south of the St. Lawrence, 49

Eagle Hills, ii. 67
Eagle Lake, ii. 132, 133
Eagle, the, arrives at the Bay, i. 45
E-arch-e-thinnews Indians, ii. 51
East India Company, monopoly of the, i. 3
Edmonton Fort, ii. 302
Egg River, ii. 48
Elgin, Lord, despatch of, ii. 254, 255 and *note*; 264
Ellice, Edward, chief agent in bringing about the union between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, ii. 217, 218; 263, 275, 277
Enterprise, Fort, ii. 240
Ermatinger, ii. 305
Esquimaux, the, a first sight of, i. 38; 55; their communications with the crew of the *Albany*, ii. 32, 33; 260
Estrees, Mareschal Comte d', i. 257
Evelyn (the diarist) quoted, i. 31
Excise Office, Broad Street, i. 62 and *note*, 71
Expedition: of Prince Rupert in the West Indies, i. 28; of Martin Frobisher, 39; of John Davis, 39; of Captain Hudson, 40; of Sir Thomas Button, 41; of Baffin, 41; of Captain James, 41; of Luke Fox, 41; of Louis Joliet, 51; of La Salle and Saint Lusson, 51; of Father Albanel, 72; of the Chevalier de Troyes, 161; of James Knight, 268, ii. 30; of Verandrye, i. 302–306; of Captain Vitus Bering, 309, 310; of the *Churchill* and *Musquash*, 311; of Captain Middleton, 311–322; of Samuel Hearne, ii. 41–52; of Mackenzie to the Arctic; 86–92; of Mackenzie to the Pacific, 92–96; of Turner to Lake Athabasca, 97, 98; of David Thompson, 98, 99; of Simon Fraser, 99, 100; of John Stewart, 99, 100; of Sir John Franklin, 241, 259–261; of

Thomas Simpson, 244 *seqq.*; of Dr. Rae, 259, 260; of Anderson and Stewart, 260, 261; of Sir Leopold McClintock, 261. (*See also* Groseilliers and Radisson.)
Exports and imports of the Company in 1676, i. 215; in 1748, ii. 8, 9

FACTORS of the Company, character of, i. 219, 220
Felt-makers, contention of the, i. 184, 186, 212
Fenn, John, i. 47
Fidler, outrage by the North-West men upon, ii. 117, 118
Finlay, James (free-trader), ii. 29
Fishery and Fur Company, the, Mackenzie's attempt to establish, ii. 110, 111
Fitzgerald, James, ii. 36
Fitz-Maurice, Edmund, i. 199 *note*
Fletcher, Major, ii. 204, 205
"Forbidden Straits," the, name given to the supposed North-West passage, i. 315
Forts, the Company's (last century), ii. 17–20; of later years, 301–308
Fox, Captain Luke, i. 3; his visit to Port Nelson, 41
France: fur-trade carried on in Canada in the seventeenth century, i. 5 and *note*; difficulties and sufferings of fur-traders in Canada, 6; departure of the fifty-two *emigrés* for the west, 10; fresh patent for a new Company, 7 *note* 1, 16; visit of Groseilliers and Radisson in 1665, 23, 24; activity in Canada, and the appointment of Talon as Intendant of Justice, 49–51; commencement of the rivalry with England north of the St. Lawrence, 52; extent of "New France," 53, 54; fallacies of the French claim to sovereignty in Canada, 54, 58; Father Albanel's mission, 71, 72; supports Radisson in his plan for dislodging the Company from the Bay, 91 *seqq.*; anxiety of Lewis XIV. to maintain French ascendency at the Bay, 137, 138; Radisson's sojourn in Paris, and his duplicity to the French Minister, 139, 140; renewed efforts at the Bay on the death of Charles II., 158 *seqq.*; Forts Rupert and Albany taken by the French, 166–170; treaty of Colonial Neutrality with England, 175 *seqq.*; continued hostilities at the Bay, 177, 190 *seqq.*; battle with the English in the Bay, 199–209; massacre of Frenchmen near Fort Bourbon by Indians, 230, 231; sufferings of the French at the Bay in 1708–9, 232; war with England, 240; desperate condition of the French at the Bay in 1704, 244, 245; treaty of Utrecht, 250; meeting of Boundary Commission in Paris (1719), 257 *seqq.*; war with England (1744), 323; French encroachments on trade at the Bay, ii. 10, 11; effect of the conquest of Canada upon the French fur-trade, 24 *seqq.*; capture of Fort Prince of Wales and York Factory, 69–76; agreement to compensate the Company, 76 and *note*
Franklin, Fort, ii. 302
Franklin, Lady, ii. 261

Franklin, Lieutenant (afterwards Sir) John, ii. 209, 210; expeditions of, 240–242, 259–261
Fraser River, ii. 306
Fraser, Simon, exploration of, ii. 99, 100
French-Canadian traders, character of, ii. 56
Frigid, Cape, i. 316
Frobisher, Benjamin, ii. 65, 66, 80; his escape from York Factory, and death, 210–212
Frobisher, Joseph, intercepts the Company's Indians, ii. 64, 65; 80
Frobisher, Sir Martin, i. 3; voyages of, 39
Frontenac, Governor, i. 93
Frozen Strait, the, i. 320, 321, 322
Fullerton, Governor of Fort Albany, i. 244
Fur-trade: arrival in the Thames of the first cargo of furs from New Amsterdam, i. 4; trade carried on by the French in Canada, 5 and *note*, 6; first sale at Montreal by Radisson and Groseilliers, 14; first sale of beaver at Garraway's, 59, 61; continental houses, 60; only profitable at the Bay when carried on by water, 187 *note;* of the Company in Russia, 212; method of carrying it on with the Indians, 213; exports and imports of furs in 1676, 215; attempt of New York to secure the fur-trade of Canada, 271–273

GARRAWAY'S Coffee-house, first sale of beaver at, i. 59, 61
Garry, Fort, ii. 245, 254, 259 296, 298, 302
Gaulthier de Varennes, Peter (afterwards named Verandrye), i. 188; his exploration in the west, 302–306; forts established by him and his sons, 306, 307
Gauthier de Comportier, i. 157
Geography of Hudson's Bay, i. 86
George, Fort, ii. 157
Geyer, George, i. 222
Gibraltar, Fort, ii. 167, 184, 205
Gillam, Benjamin, i. 99 *seqq.;* 111; his meeting with his father at the Bay, 113, 114; made prisoner by Radisson, 120
Gillam, Zachary, captain of the *Nonsuch*, i. 23, 36 *seqq.;* returns to England, 43; commands the *Prince Rupert*, 84, 98, 103; interview with Radisson, 111; his meeting with his son, 113, 114; returns to England in the *St. Anne*, 132
Gladstone, W. E., his opposition to the colonisation proposal of the Company, ii. 256; 263, 265
Godey, Captain, i. 134 *seqq.*
Godolphin, Lord, i. 176
Golikoffs, the, Russian traders, ii. 104
Gonor, Father de, i. 303
Gorst, Thomas, secretary to the Governor of Rupert's Land, i. 76, 81
"Governor and Company of Merchants-Adventurers trading into Hudson's Bay." (*See* HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY.)
Governors, trading, character of, ii. 58–61
Governors of Factories, period of office, salaries, powers, and character of, ii. 57, 58
Grant, Cuthbert, leader of the Bois-

Brulés, ii. 154, 179 *note;* leads the attack on the Red River settlement, 187
Granville, Earl, ii. 290, 292; proposes terms for the Company's surrender of territorial rights, 293, 294
Grasshoppers, plague of, ii. 216
Great Bear Lake, ii. 302
Great Fish River, ii. 245, 260
"Great River," the, ii. 41
Green, Henry, mutiny against Captain Hudson of, i. 40
Green Bay, i. 13
Grey, Earl, ii. 253, 254
Griffith, Sir John, i. 47
Griffiths, Major, ii. 254
Grimington, Captain, regains Fort Albany, i. 192 and *note*, 193
Grimington's Island, ii. 14
Groseilliers, early years of, i. 9, 10; his trading operations among the Hurons, and his first marriage, 10; forms a partnership with Radisson and marries his sister, 11; embraces the Protestant religion, 11, 12; early efforts, in conjunction with Radisson, to extend the fur-trade, 12 *seqq.;* deviations in the spelling of his name, and its signification, 12 *note;* his early travels with Radisson, 12–14; journey to the west of Montreal with French volunteers, 14, 15; lucrative results of another journey to the west, 15; determines to exploit the fur-trade of Hudson's Bay, 16; lays his scheme before the Governor of Quebec and is repulsed, 17, 18; proceeds to New England, 18, 19, 22, 23; his plan for reaching the shores of Hudson's Bay, 19; sails, with Radisson, for France, 23, 24; visits London, 24; introduced by Lord Arlington to Prince Rupert, 35; interviews with Prince Rupert and Charles II., 35, 36; sails in the *Nonsuch*, 38; arrives in the Bay, and builds a fort, 38, 42; first transactions with Indians, 42–44; his stories about King Charles and Prince Rupert, 44; Governor Bailey's distrust of him, 75, 83; his attitude on hearing of the proximity of the French, 77, 78; encounter with a Tabiti chief, 80; hostility to him at Fort Charles, 81; assaults the Governor, 83; 88; co-operates with Radisson in the scheme for dislodging the Company from the Bay, 95 *seqq.;* suppresses a mutiny on board the *St. Anne*, 97; leaves Quebec with Radisson for Europe, 131, 132; 135; uncertainty as to the date of his death, 151

HALDANE, a partner of the North-West Company, ii. 119, 135
Half-breeds, *see* Bois-Brulés
Halifax, Lord, ii. 16
Hampshire, the, seized by the French, i. 179, 180; 181, 199, 201; sinks in the battle off Fort Nelson, 202, 203
Happy Return, the, i. 141, 142
Hardi, the, i. 196
Harney, General, ii. 269
Hawke, Sir Edward, ii. 36
Hayes, James, i. 37, 47, 107
Hays' Island, i. 120, 124, 170

Hays' River, i. 333 ; map of, 334 ; ii. 77
Hays, Sir John, i. 134
Head, Sir Edmund, ii. 284, 285, 286
Hearne, Samuel, explorations of, ii. 41–52, 71 *note ;* builds Cumberland House, 63 ; surrenders Fort Prince of Wales to the French, 70
Henley House, ii. 10 ; construction of, 18
Henrietta Marie, Cape, i. 94
Henry, Alexander, expedition of, ii. 29, 30
Henry, Prince, instigates Sir Thomas Button to make a voyage to the Bay, i. 41
Herault, Elizabeth, marries Radisson, i. 11
Herbert, Sir Edward, his relations with Edward Hyde, i. 30, 31
Hindustan, mercantile expectations with regard to, i. 2
Hobart, Lord, ii. 132
Hobson, Lieutenant, ii. 261
Holder, John, Prince Rupert's private secretary, i. 31
Horn Mountains, ii. 87
Horner, Captain John, dismissal of, ii. 38
Horth, John, i. 62, 85
Hudson, Captain, voyages and death of, i. 40, 41
Hudson's Bay, French scheme for extending the fur-trade to, i. 7 ; first English Association for trading at, 7 ; information received from Indians by Radisson and Groseilliers respecting, 13, 14, 15 ; cross said to have been erected by Couture at, 16, 17 ; grant of a vessel by Charles II. to Groseilliers and Radisson for exploring, 36 ; arrival of the *Nonsuch*, 38, 42 ; extent, and sources of water-supply, 38 *note ;* explorations of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, Button, Baffin, and others, at, 39–41 ; construction of a fort and dwellings by Groseilliers and Gillam, 42 ; arrival of Radisson in the *Eagle*, 45 ; French activity and pretensions of sovereignty, 49 *seqq. ;* French rivalry, and the conduct of Charles Bailey, 73 *seqq. ;* Bailey superseded by Lyddal, 84 ; building of houses, 84 ; geography of the district, 86 ; devices of Radisson to dislodge the British, 91 *seqq. ;* arrival of Governor Bridgar at Port Nelson, 98 ; manœuvres of Radisson among the English, 110 *seqq. ;* wreck of the *Prince Rupert*, 117 ; Radisson's successful scheming in driving off the English, 118 *seqq. ;* operations of Radisson in the service of the Company, 143 *seqq. ;* renewed activity of the French, and the seizure of the *Merchant of Perpetuana*, 159, 160 ; expedition of the Chevalier de Troyes against the English, 161 *seqq. ;* renewal of hostilities by the French, and their attempt to seize Captain Moon's ship, 177 ; battle in the Bay, and recapture of Fort Nelson by the French, 199–209 ; ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht, 250 ; depredations by the French, ii. 69–77 ; rivalry of various companies, 107 *seqq. ;* posts established by the North-West Company, 110 ; arrival of the Earl of Selkirk's colonists, 148 ;

hostilities of the North-West Company, 151 *seqq.*; re-establishment of British influence, 227; surrender of the Company's territorial rights to Canada, 293 *seqq.*
Hudson's Bay, the, i. 199, 201 *seqq.*
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY: charter granted by Charles II., i. 7, 46 (and *Appendix*); its ancestors, 9; results of the first voyage of the *Nonsuch*, 46; sale at Garraway's, 59; places of meeting in London, 62; regulations, 62; payment to Prince Rupert, 63, 64; the question of outward cargoes, 64 *seqq.*; regulation respecting peddlers, 67, 68; curiosity in London about its meetings, 68, 69; original capital, 70; system of organisation and government determined upon, 85; attitude towards Groseilliers and Radisson, 88; rejection of advice offered by Groseilliers and Radisson, 96, 97; increased activity in 1683, 108; difficulty in procuring proper servants, 108, 109; loss of the *Prince Rupert*, 117; departure of the Company's servants from the Bay through the successful devices of Radisson, 130; Radisson's services re-engaged, 140; despatch of the *Happy Return*, 141; disapproval of Radisson's conduct, 150; grants a pension to Radisson, 151; distrust of the Indians, 155; seizure by the French of the *Merchant of Perpetuana*, 159, 160; Moose Factory captured by the French, 162 *seqq.*; loss of Forts Rupert and Albany, 166–170; loss of the *Churchill*, and the representations made to the King concerning French outrages, 172, 173; Lord Churchill succeeds King James as Governor, 173; rejects proposals of the French Company, 177; seizure of the *Hampshire* by the French, 179, 180; renews its claims for reparation by the French on the accession of William III., 182; confirmation of its charter by Parliament, 183, 184; capital increased to £31,500, 184; regains Fort Albany, 192, 193; loss and recovery of Fort Nelson, 194–197; again loses Fort Nelson, 209; petition to Parliament hostile to the Company, 211; method of trading with Indians, 213 *seqq.*; exports and imports in 1676, 215; prices paid for furs, 216; stationary character of its trade, 218; character of its factors, 219; life at its factories, 221; extension of trade, 222, 223; effect of Indian wars, 225, 226; they send an account of their claims to the Lords of Trade, 235–238; fall in the value of shares, 240; severe regulations, 241; employment of Scotchmen, 241, 242; petition to Queen Anne, 245, 246; the proposal of the Company for settling disputes at the Bay, 247 *note*; list of forts from 1668 to 1712, 248; effect of the treaty of Utrecht on the Company, 251; petition for Act of Cession, 252 *note*; Boundary Commission, 257 *seqq.*; plan to reorganise the Company, 265 *seqq.*; Knight's north-west expedition, 267–271; sends out the *Churchill*

and *Musquash* for exploration, 310, 311; opposition to further exploration, 311 *seqq.*; instructions to governors at the Bay on the outbreak of war with France (1744), 324–326, 329, 337; its monopoly attacked and a Parliamentary Inquiry ordered, ii. 1 *seqq.*; profits in 1748, 8, 9; favourable decision of the Committee of Inquiry, 11; definition of its territory, 12, 13; its claim against France, 16, 17; its forts, 17–20; strike of its seamen, 35–37; increase of salaries, 39, 40; insurance of its ships, 40; exploring commission of Samuel Hearne, 41–52; character of its traders under the new *régime*, 55; surrender of Fort Prince of Wales and York Factory to the French, 69–76; borrows £20,000 from the Bank of England (1802), 107; outrages upon the servants of the Company, 116 *seqq.*, 133–136; crisis in its affairs (1808), 122 *seqq.*; petitions the Lords of the Treasury, 123 *seqq.*; fails to obtain a loan, 129; new regulations (1810), 129; plea for jurisdiction, 131, 132; grants territory for the Earl of Selkirk's colonists, 145 *seqq.*; begins to trade in Athabasca, 157; conflict of Lord Selkirk's colonists with agents of the North-West Company, 166 *seqq.*; work of Government Commissioners in adjusting differences between the Company and the North-Westers, 204, 205; union with the North-West Company (1821), 217–221; the new system, 222, 223; obtains a new licence, 225–226; arrangement with the Russian Company (1839), 240; confirmation of the Deed Poll (1834), 242; obtains the control of the Red River colony, 243; fall in the price of beaver (1839), 243; leases land from the Russian Company, 243, 244; agricultural enterprise, 248–250; issues notes, 250; proposes to colonise North America, 253; attacked by Isbister, 253, 254; amended proposal for colonisation, 256; grant of Vancouver Island secured, 257; exploration, 259; profits about 1846, 262; working staff, 262; recommendations of the Select Committee of 1857, 265; opposition of Toronto merchants, 265, 266; treaty with America of 1857, 266, 267; proposals to buy out the Company, 269 *seqq.*; indignation of the wintering partners, 278 *seqq.*; cause of the Company's unpopularity in the Red River settlement, 283, 284; proposals for surrender of territorial rights, 286, 293; lack of military system, 292; cession of rights to Canada, 293 *seqq.*; settlement of the claims of its officers, 299; reorganisation, 299; its maintenance of commercial ascendency, 300; its forts described, 301 *seqq.*; policy of the Company towards the Indians, 308–310; list of posts (*Appendix*), 313–317

Hughes, Governor, ii. 59

Humes, Captain Edward, i. 159, 160

Hundred Associates, Company of the, fur-trade in Canada of, i. 5, 17

Hungerford, Sir Edward, i. 47
Hunting, Indians' fondness of, i. 290 *seqq.*
Hurons, the, i. 10, 13; plundered by the Iroquois, 18; 44
Hyde, Edward, *see* Clarendon, Lord Chancellor

Iberville, Sieur d', i. 162, 165; seizes a sloop of the Company, 166, 169, 170; takes the *Churchill*, 172; attempts to seize Captain Moon's ship, 177; takes New Severn, 178; seizes the *Hampshire*, 179, 180; designs to seize Fort Nelson, 187, 188; the rank of lieutenant conferred upon him, 188; successes at the Bay, 189; visits France, and is received at Versailles, 191; takes Fort Nelson, 194; re-takes Fort Nelson after a naval battle, 209; 227 and *note*; 244
Immigrants, Earl of Selkirk's, their place of settlement, ii. 148, 150; they become mutinous, 148, 149; confronted by the Bois-Brulés, 160, 161; behaviour of the Irish contingent of, 162, 163; hostile operations of the North-West Company against, 166–172; their departure from Fort Douglas, 173; settle on Jack River, 173; some of them rewarded by the North-West Company for their treacherous conduct, 174–176; attacked and dispersed by the Bois-Brulés, 187–193; several arrested, 193, 194; their adversities at the Red River, 215, 216; reinforcements, and prosperity, 216; the Company obtains the control of their colony, 243; 253; riots of 1863, 283
Imploy, the, i. 66
Indians, hostility to French traders of, i. 6; intentions of English adventurers with regard to, 7 *note* 2; tribes with which Radisson and Groseilliers fraternised with in their early travels, 13; first transactions with Groseilliers at the Bay, 42, 43; confused with the Indians of the East, 69; list of tribes, 87; overawed by Radisson, 127–129; their greeting to Radisson on his return to the Bay, 144, 145; contrast between the attitudes of the French and the English towards them, 154, 155; method of trading with, 213; effect of their wars upon the Company, 225, 226; their massacre of Frenchmen near Fort Bourbon, 230, 231; their miserable condition and cannibalism at the beginning of the eighteenth century, 232, 233; names, characters, habits, &c., of various tribes, 274–289; as hunters, 290 *seqq.*; formalities in supplying the Company with beaver, 295–300; they resort to the English after the conquest of Canada, ii. 26, 27; their estimate of women, 48; ravages of smallpox amongst them, 67, 68; friendliness to Lord Selkirk's immigrants, 172, 173; Lord Selkirk's treaty with, 205–207; as agricultural labourers, 250; their attack on the *Laboucchere*, 268; depredations of the Blackfeet, 307; the Company's treatment of them, 308 *seqq.*

Instructions of the Company to its governors at the Bay on the outbreak of war with France (1744), i. 324–326, 329, 337
Insurance of the Company's ships, ii. 40
Insurrection of half-breeds, ii. 296 *seqq.*
Intemperance, prevalence amongst Indians of, i. 286–289, 297
International Finance Association, ii. 276
Ireland, Lord Selkirk's colony recruited from, ii. 161
Iroquois, the, i. 10, 13; allies of English colonists, 18; 66
Isbister, A. K., ii. 253, 254
Isbister, Joseph (Governor of Albany), i. 324, 325
Isle à la Crosse, Lake of, ii. 65, 117, 118
Ivett, Robert, his mutiny against Captain Hudson, i. 40

Jack River, ii. 173
Jacobites, their hopes revived by the war with France (1744), i. 327
Jacobs, Ferdinand, governor of Prince of Wales' Fort, ii. 61, 63
Jacques, Father, i. 55 *note*
James II., his relations with Lewis XIV., i. 158; agrees with Lewis to appoint a joint commission on affairs at Hudson's Bay, 173; his pseudonym as holder of stock in the Company, 329
James, Captain, finds the westward passage to China, i. 41
James' Bay, i. 187, 209 *note* 1
Jealousy of the Company's rights (1848), ii. 253, 255
Jenyns, Soame, ii. 16
Jérémie, officer at Fort Nelson, i. 195, 229, 230; cedes Port Nelson to the British, 255
Jesuits, the, missionaries of, their efforts to extend the fur-trade of France in Canada, i. 6, 51, 55–58, 77 *seqq.*; their distrust of Groseilliers, 14; assist Radisson to carry out his rival scheme at the Bay, 92
Joint Commission, appointed by James II. and Lewis XIV. to inquire into affairs at Hudson's Bay, i. 173; treaty of neutrality drawn up by, 175
Joliet, Louis, exploration of, i. 51
Jonquiere, Fort, i. 307 and *note*
Juchereau, M. de, i. 228
Jurisdiction, plea of the Company for, ii. 131, 132
Jurisdiction Act of Canada, ii. 132, 133, 140

Ka-chou-touay, Assiniboine chief, i. 147
Ka-kirka-kiouay River, i. 98
Kaministiquia River, ii. 158
Kamloops Fort, ii. 305
Kas-kidi-dah, King, i. 75, 77
Kelsey, Henry, bravery of, i. 194 and *note* 2, 195, 208; 222, 223; marries an Indian woman, 224; his adventures, 225; made deputy-governor of Port Nelson, 254, 255
Kilistineaux Indians, i. 43, 52 and *note*
Kimberley, Earl of, ii. 290
King William's Island, ii. 260, 261
Kinsale, Prince Rupert's escape from, i. 27, 28

Kirke, Sir John, marriage of Radisson to the daughter of, i. 12; 47, 62; advocates the claims of Radisson, 88; 90
Knight, Governor, authorised to take possession of Port Nelson, i. 254; his expedition to explore the North-West passage, 267–271; his fate, ii. 30–33
Kodiak, Island of, ii. 104

Labau, murder of, ii. 114
Labrador, the Company's claim to, ii. 15
La Couture, Sieur, i. 16, 56
La Forest, in command at Fort Nelson, i. 195
Lagny, M. de, i. 188
Lagrange at Fort Bourbon, i. 229
Lake, Sir Bibye (Governor of the Company), i. 257, 261
Lampson, Mr., ii. 280
L'Anglois, Jean, i. 56
La Pérouse, Admiral, takes Fort Prince of Wales and York Factory, ii. 70–76; in the Pacific, 101, 102
Law, John, and his Mississippi scheme, i. 260, 263
L'Escarbot, description of New France by, i. 54
Letters of marque to the Company's ships, i. 326, 327
Lewis XIII., charter granted to adventurers in 1627 by, i. 53
Lewis XIV., his letter to the Governor of Quebec exhorting him to maintain French ascendency at the Bay, i. 137, 138; his feigned anger about the contentions at the Bay, 152; unwilling to oppose the English, 157; relations with Charles II. and James II., 157, 158; agrees with James II. to appoint a joint commission on affairs at Hudson's Bay, 173; his tardiness in sending vessels to America, 189; proposes boundaries at Hudson's Bay, 238; promises to acknowledge the son of James II. king of England, 240
Lewis XV., sides with Spain against England (1744), i. 323
Licences granted to the Company in 1821 and 1842, 225–226
Licences for fur-collecting, granted by the French in Canada, i. 301; abolition of, ii. 24
Lincoln, Earl of (afterwards Duke of Newcastle), ii. 256
Linklater, William, outrage by North-West men upon, ii. 121
Livingston, an explorer in the North-West, ii. 108
Lords of Trade, the memorandum of the Company to, i. 247 *note*; their answer to the memorandum of the Company, 249 *note*
L'Original, Lac, ii. 211
Louisiana boundaries (*Appendix*), ii. 341–343
Lyddal, William, Governor of Rupert's Land, 84
Lyons, Lord, ii. 266

MacDonnell, Aeneas, his outrage on servants of the Company, and his death, ii. 133–135
MacDonnell, Alexander, attacks a servant of the Company, ii. 116, 117

MacDonnell, John, ii. 118
MacDonnell, Miles, first governor of the Earl of Selkirk's colony in Assiniboia, ii. 148, 150 *note*, 164; his proclamation, 165, 166; taken prisoner by the North-West Company's agents, 171; again at Fort Douglas, 192
Mackay, Dr., ii. 273
Mackenzie, Alexander, his connection with the North-West Company, ii. 81, 82, 85; his expedition to the Arctic, 86–92; second journey, 93–96; leaves the North-West Company, 107; publishes his travels and obtains a knighthood, 108; attempts to establish "The Fishery and Fur Company," 110, 111; 144 *note*
Mackenzie River, ii. 87, 241, 245
Maissoneuve, i. 10
Malcontents, plea of the, against the monopoly of the Company (1748), ii. 2–4
Marble Island, i. 317; ii. 30
Marincourt, Sieur de, i. 162, 179
Marshall, Chief Justice, on the rights of discoverers in America, i. 4 *note* 1
Martigny, Lieutenant, i. 195, 206
Martin, Abraham, i. 10
Martin, Etienne, first wife of Medard Chouart, i. 10
Massacre of Frenchmen by Indians, i. 230, 231
Maune, River à la, i. 155
Maurice, Prince, i. 30
Maverick, Samuel, member of a Commission sent to New England, i. 22.
Maynard, Mr. (solicitor of the Company), ii. 274, 275
McClintock, Sir Leopold, ii. 261
McDonell, Alexander, a leader of the hostilities against the Selkirk colonists, ii. 167 *seqq.*, 185; plans the extermination of the Red River settlement, 186, 187
McDougall, Hon. W., ii. 285; resolutions of, 288, 289; 295
McGillivray, Simon, an opponent of the Earl of Selkirk's project, ii. 143, 144 *note*, 151, 154
McGillivray, William, ii. 159 *note;* arrested at Fort William by Lord Selkirk, 197, 198; arrives in Montreal, 202; 208, 215, 218
McKay, J. W., ii. 248
McLeod, John, ii. 305
McLeod, Norman, an official of the North-West Company, ii. 193
McTavish, Simon, ii. 80, 107, 112, 210, 283
Ménard, Réné (Jesuit priest), massacred by Indians, i. 15
Merchant of Perpetuana, seized by the French, i. 159
Merry, Cape, i. 330
Métis, *see* Bois-Brulé
Mezy, Governor, i. 49
Michigan, Lake, i. 13
Michilimackinac, the French at, i. 227, 272; capture of, ii. 28; 66
Michipicoten River, ii. 29
Middleton, Captain Christopher, account of his exploration for the North-West passage, i. 311–322; commands a convoy for the expedition of the North-West Association, 333
Middleton, Lord, i. 176
Milnes, Lieutenant Governor, ii. 108
Milnes, Sir Robert, ii. 132
Milnikoff Company, ii. 106

Minnesota, lakes of, i. 13
Mississippi Company, i. 259, 260, 263
Monk, Lord, ii. 284
Montagu, Lady Mary, ii. 67
Montague House (log-house on Hays' River), i. 333
Montcalm, General, i. 10
Montreal, first sale of furs by Radisson and Groseilliers at, i. 14; rivalry with the Company of traders of, ii. 62 *seqq.*, 78 *seqq.*; combination of merchants, 80
Moon, Captain, i. 177
Moor, Captain W. (of the *Dobbs' Galley*), i. 333; ii. 7
Moore, Thomas, one of the Company's servants, i. 222
Moose Factory, seized by the French, i. 162 *seqq.*; ii. 19
Moose, Fort, i. 170; ii. 19
Moose River, settlements at, i. 77, 325, 329; ii. 9, 10; construction of fort at, 18; North-West Company's post at, 110
Mountain House, ii. 307
Mowat, John, trial of, ii. 135–137
Mutiny on board the *St. Anne*, i. 97

NADOUECHIOUECS, or Sioux, Indians, i. 13
"Naywatamee Poets," i. 223
Neele, Sir Paul, i. 47
Nekauba, i. 57
Nelson, Fort, i. 105, 123; burned down by Governor Phipps, 190; taken by the French, 194; surrendered to the English (1696), 196; recaptured by the French after a fierce battle, 199–209
Nelson, Port, i. 41, 98, 107, 176, 229; Governor Knight takes possession of, 255
Nelson River, i. 142
Nepigon, Lake, i. 187, 303
Neutrality, Colonial, negotiations for, i. 174 *seqq.*
New Amsterdam, taken from the Dutch, i. 4, 18
New Archangel, ii. 106
New France, limits of, i. 53, 54
New Jersey, State of, granted by Charles II. to the Duke of York, i. 4
New North-West Company, ii. 108, 109; unites with the North-West Company, 112
New Severn Fort, i. 178, 195
New Wales, i. 41
New York, State of, granted by Charles II. to the Duke of York, i. 4
Newcastle, Duke of, ii. 269, 273, 275, 285
Nichols, Richard, member of a Commission sent to New England, i. 22
Nipawee, ii. 29
Niverville, establishes Fort Jonquiere (now Calgary), i. 307 and *note*
Nixon, bravery at Fort Albany of, i. 168, 169
Nodwayes Indians, i. 42, 43, 74
Nonsuch, the, i. 23, 36; sails from London, and arrives in the Bay, 37, 38, 42; returns to England with a cargo of furs, 43
North-West Association, i. 332
North-West Company, ii. 80–85; dissensions in, 107, 108; establishes posts at Charlton Island and Moose River, 110; outrages

by servants of, 114, 116 *seqq.*, 133–136; opposes the Earl of Selkirk's project, 143 *seqq.*, 151; defections from, 155; extent of its trade, 156; builds Fort William, 158–160; its hostile plans against Lord Selkirk's colonists, 166–171; its attack on the Selkirk settlement and arrest of Governor MacDonnell, 171, 172; its rewards to treacherous colonists, 174–176; its influence over the half-breeds, 179; arrest of partners at Fort William by Lord Selkirk, 198–200; arrest of agents by Governor Williams, 209; protests against the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company, 213; union with the Hudson's Bay Company, 217–221

North-West passage: Knight's expedition, i. 267–271; voyage of the *Churchill* and the *Musquash*, 311; list of the Company's ships sent out (1719–1737), 311 *note* 2; Middleton's expedition, aided by Dobbs, 311–322; Government offers a reward of £20,000 for its discovery, 330; expedition of the North-West Association, 332–336; evidence before the Select Committee (1748–9) on the subject, ii. 6–8; virtually discovered by Franklin, 261; 262

Northcote, Sir Stafford, ii. 290, 299

Norton, Governor Moses, ii. 41, 42, 49, 60, 61

Norton, Governor Richard, i. 313, 335, 336

Norway House, ii. 298

Notes, issue of, by the Company, ii. 250 and *note*

Oldenburgh, secretary of the Royal Society, i. 36

Onondaga, i. 55 *note*

Ontario Boundary Commission of 1884, i. 58

Oonalaska Fort, ii. 92

Oregon question, the, ii. 233 *seqq.*, 247, 248, 251 *seqq.*

Orkney islanders, employed by the Company, ii. 53, 54, 55; employed by the North-West Company, 110; of Lord Selkirk's Company, 149, 150

Oswego, i. 272

Ottawa Indians, i. 43

Outlaw, Captain, i. 168

Outrages by servants of the North-West Company, ii. 114, 116 *seqq.*, 133–136

Owner's Love, the (fireship), i. 199, 200 *note*

Oxford, Harley, Earl of, originator of the South Sea Company, i. 262

"Pacific scheme," the, ii. 273 *seqq.*

Palmier, the, i. 199, 205

Pangman (Canadian trader), ii. 81

Parliamentary Inquiry respecting the condition of the Company (1748), ii. 1 *seqq.*

Parry, Sir Edward, quoted on the accuracy of Middleton's discoveries, i. 320, 321

Peace River, ii. 93, 208, 236

Peddlers, ships for Hudson's Bay besieged by, i. 67, 68

Pelican, the, i. 199 *seqq.*

Pelly, Sir J. H., ii. 253

Pembina, ii. 161, 164, 165, 180

Pepys, Samuel (quoted), i. 33, owner

of a part of Radisson's narrative, 132 *note*
Peray, Intendant Talon's servant and adviser, i. 50
Perdrix, Cape, ii. 14
Péré, M., i. 153
Peter the Great, his plans for competing in the fur-trade of America, i. 308, 309
Petition for Act of Cession, i. 251, 252; of the Company to the Lords of the Treasury (1809), ii. 123–128; of London merchants (1752), ii. 14; to Parliament hostile to the Company, i. 211
Philipeaux, Fort, i. 231
Phipps, Governor, i. 143; his dispute with Radisson, 148; burns Fort Nelson, 190
Pijitic River, ii. 29
Pilgrim, Governor, i. 329
Pipe, the, ceremony of, i. 297, 298
Pishapocanoe Indians, i. 79
Pitt, Fort, ii. 307
Placentia, i. 198, 199
Poli, the, i. 193 *note*, 195
Pond, Peter, ii. 66, 81
Port des François, ii. 102
Portman, John, i. 36, 47 and *note*, 60, 61, 62, 65
Posts of the Company (*Appendix*), ii. 313–317
Potter, Mr. Richard, ii. 276
Press-gang, depredations of, i. 338
Preston, Lord, i. 133; persuades Radisson to return to the service of the Company, 134 *seqq.*
Prettyman, William, i. 47, 60, 61
Prickett, Habbakuk, his account of a part of Hudson's voyage, i. 40
Prince Edward Island, Lord Selkirk's colony at, ii. 137, 138
Prince Rupert, the, sails from England, i. 48; cargo of merchandise taken out for barter in, 66; 103; wrecked, 117
Prince of Wales' Fort, i. 329; plan of, 331; 337; ii. 17, 18, 19; surrendered to the French, 69–72; its ruins, 76
Proclamation of Governor MacDonnell, ii. 165, 166
Profits of the Company, in 1676, i. 215; in 1748, ii. 8, 9; in 1775, 65 *note*; about 1846, 262
Profond, the, i. 199
Provisions, cost of (1804), (*Appendix*) ii. 343
Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, ii. 266, 267
Pulteney, Daniel, i. 257; letter to Mr. Secretary Craggs from, 260 *note*
Puritans, of Boston, i. 22; their contempt for Prince Rupert, 29

QUEBEC, establishment of, i. 5 *note*; monopoly of, 5; surrendered to Sir John Kirke by Champlain, 12; Groseilliers' proposals rejected by the Governor of, 17, 18; effigies of Groseilliers and Radisson burnt at, 158; creation of the Province of, ii. 24 *note*
Quebec Company, decline of its operations at York Factory, i. 244

RADISSON, Marguerite, marries Groseilliers, i. 11
Radisson, Pierre, i. 9; leaves France for Canada, and forms a partner-

ship with Groseilliers, 11; marries Elizabeth Herault, 11; second marriage, 12; his early travels with Groseilliers, 12–14; returns to Three Rivers, 14; probably suggested the sea-route scheme to Groseilliers, 20, 21; interview with Charles II., 36; prevented by an accident from sailing in the *Nonsuch* from London, 37; arrives at the Bay in the *Eagle*, 45; his advice to the Company as to cargoes for barter, 65, 66; Charles Bailey's distrust of him, 74 *seqq.*; attempts to shoot Bailey, 76; goes to Quebec, 77; serves in the French Navy, 89; refusal of his wife to reside with him in France, 89; suspected by the French, 89, 90; interview with Prince Rupert, 90; plans to dislodge the Company, 91; enters the service of the French Government, 91, 92; assisted with funds by the Jesuits, 92; arrives at Quebec, and arranges with La Chesnaye to advance French interests at the Bay, 93–95; restless disposition, 96; joins Groseilliers at Isle Percée, 96; rejection of his advice by the Company, 96, 97; encounters the younger Gillam at the Bay, 99–101; claims the country as the possession of the King of France, 103, 104; meets Zachary Gillam on the *Prince Rupert*, 104; his manœuvres among the English, 110 *seqq.*; makes Benjamin Gillam prisoner, 119, 120; takes possession of Hays' Island Fort, 121; threatens a Scotchman with death, 122; seizes Fort Nelson and makes Bridgar his prisoner, 123; overawes the Indians, 127–129; opinions of Bridgar and Gillam of him, 131; leaves Quebec with Groseilliers, 131, 132; appears in Paris and is pressed by Lord Preston to return to the service of the Company, 134–137, 139; his duplicity in Paris, 139, 140; returns to England, and is presented to the King, 140, 141; departs for the Bay, 141; greeted by Indians, 144, 145; wins over his nephew Chouart, 146; rupture with Governor Phipps, 148; dramatic return to London, 149; received at Court, 150; his fall and death, 150, 151; burnt in effigy at Quebec, 158

Rae, Dr., exploration of, ii. 259, 260; 263

Red Knife Indians, ii. 87

Red Lake, ii. 120

Red men of Rupert's Land, i. 275, 281

Red River, ii. 138, 160, 161, 207

Red River Colony, *see* Immigrants, Earl of Selkirk's

Regulations of the Company, i. 62, 67, 68, 241, 324–326; ii. 129 *seqq.*

"Relations des Jesuites," account of the difficulties and sufferings of French fur-traders contained in, i. 6

Remin, Daniel de, French Governor of Canada, i. 50

Repulse Bay, i. 320; ii. 259

Resolution Isle, i. 38

Restoration, the, effect on trade of, i. 1, 2

Reward offered by Government for

the discovery of the North-West passage, i. 330
Richelieu, grants a charter to the Compagnie des Cents Associés, i. 7 *note* 1
Richmond, Duke of, Governor of Canada, ii. 212
Richmond Fort, ii. 19
Riel, Louis, insurrection of, ii. 296
Robertson, Colin, Lord Selkirk's chief manager, ii. 155, 156; trades in Athabasca, 157; takes Fort Gibraltar, 184; attacks Fort Vermilion, 208; imprisoned, 208
Robinson, John, Bishop of London, i. 246, 247
Robinson, Sir John, i. 36, 47, 62
Rocky Mountains, Verandrye the younger's journey to, i. 305; Mackenzie's visit to, ii. 94
Ross, Alexander, ii. 305
Ross, Hon. John, ii. 264
Ross, Sir John, ii. 242
Royal African Company, i. 33
Royal Society for Improving Natural Knowledge, sends out astronomers to Hudson's Bay, ii. 34
Rupert, Fort, taken by the French, i. 166; ii. 304
Rupert, Prince, i. 4 and *note* 2; his character, 25, 26; his services in the Civil War, 26, 27; naval expedition in the West Indies, 28, 29; the disaster to his fleet, 30; his present to Charles Stuart, 31; residence in France, 31 *seqq.*; cultivates science and the arts, 32, 33; attached to the English Court, 33; naval operations against the Dutch, 34; receives Groseilliers, and introduces him to the King, 35, 36; visits the *Nonsuch*, 37; obtains a charter from the King for the Company, 46; at Garraway's, 61; at a meeting of the Company, 63; the question as to his financial share in the Company, 63, 64; his reception of Radisson, 90; death, 106
Rupert's Land, i. 48; conduct of Charles Bailey as Governor of, 73 *seqq.*; terms for the acquisition by Canada of, ii. 288 *seqq.*
Rupert's (afterwards Nemiscau) River, i. 42 and *note*, 43, 73
Russell, Lord John, ii. 257, 263
Russia, trade of the Company in, i. 212; plans a competition with England in the fur-trade of America, 307–310; sends expeditions to the West coast, ii. 104, 105; its establishment at Norfolk Sound, 227; its claims on the Pacific coast, 233, 234; treaty of 1825 with, 234, 237 (and *Appendix*), 337–341; repudiates responsibility for the affair of the *Dryad*, 240; sells Alaska to America, 287
Russian-American Fur Company, ii. 106
Russian Fur Company, the, ii. 238 *note*, 239, 240, 243, 244, 249, 287
Ryswick, treaty of, effect upon the Company of, i. 185, 209 and *note* 2; terms of, 234 *note*

St. Anne, the, i. 96 *seqq.*, 124, 125, 130
St. Augustine, suggestion of Bladen for the reduction of, i. 260
St. James, Fort, ii. 237
St. Lusson, exploits of, i. 51
St. Pierre, the, i. 96 *seqq.*, 124, 125

St. Simon, Sieur de, i. 71
Sainte Hélène, Sieur de, i. 162, 165
Salamandre, the, i. 193 *note*, 195
Salaries of factors, increase of, ii. 39; 282
Salle, La, exploits of, i. 51
Sand Island, ii. 237
Sargeant, Governor, i. 108, 109; surrenders Fort Albany to the French, 169, 170
Saskatchewan, the, ii. 28, 29, 66, 265, 302
Sault Ste. Marie, i. 51; ii. 160, 197
Saulteaux Indians, ii. 207
Schultz, Frederick, murders Labau, ii. 114
Scotchmen, employment by the Company of, i. 241, 242; influx into Canada after 1745 of, ii. 27, 28; of Lord Selkirk's colony, 147, 149
Scott, Thomas, execution of, ii. 298
Scroggs, Captain John (of the *Whalebone*), i. 270
Seahorse, the, i. 338; ii. 38
Seal Creek, place of settlement of Lord Selkirk's immigrants, ii. 148, 150, 154 *note* 2
Seignely, Marquis de, i. 91, 92, 138
Select Committee, work and report of (1748–9), ii. 2, 4 *seqq.*; of 1857, 262–265
Selkirk, Earl of, settles a colony of Highlanders at Prince Edward Island, ii. 137, 138; his project for establishing a colony at the Bay, 138–148; arrival of his party at Seal Creek, 148; traduced by the North-Western Company, 151; secures recruits in Ireland for his colony, 161; his plans for the prosperity of the Company, 162; engages mercenary troops in Canada, 182, 183; plundering of his messenger to the Red River by North-West agents, 181 *note*; captures Fort William, 197–201; makes a treaty with the Indians, 205–207; returns to England, 207; damages against him at the trials at Little York, 214, 215; death, 217
Selwyn, John (quoted), i. 141
Semple, Robert, chief controller of factories in Rupert's Land, ii. 178, 184; killed by the Bois-Brulés, 188–190; annuities to his sisters, 203 *note*; trial of his murderers, 214, 215
Serigny, i. 193 *note*, 196, 207, 208
Servants of the Company, choice of unsuitable, i. 108, 109; harsh treatment of, 220, 221
Seven Oaks, the affair at, ii. 188 *seqq.*
Severn River, ii. 20
Seward, Hon. W. H., ii. 266
Shaftesbury, the, i. 84
Shechittiwan Indians, i. 81
Shelekoff, Russian trader, ii. 104, 105 and *note*, 106
Shepherd, Captain (of the *Shaftesbury*), i. 84
Simpson, Sir George, Governor of Rupert's Land, ii. 223–225; his survey of the western posts, 236, 237; 242, 245, 262; death, 268; his voyage round the world, 269; 305
Simpson, Thomas, Arctic explorer, ii. 244–247
Sioux Indians, i. 13, 304; ii. 247
Sitka, ii. 103, 106, 238
Skinners' Company, its hostility to the Hudson's Bay Company, i. 212
Slave Lake, ii. 86

Slude River, factory at, i. 329 ; construction of a fort at, ii. 18
Smallpox epidemic amongst the Indians (1781), ii. 67, 68, 80
Smith, Cape, i. 41
Smith, Mr. Donald A. (afterwards Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal), ii. 298, 299
Smith, Captain Francis (of the *California*), i. 333
Smithsend (mate of the *Merchant of Perpetuana*), i. 160, 173, 206, 207
South Sea Bubble, i. 262 *seqq.*
Southampton Island, i. 180
Spain, hostilities between England and, i. 323 ; its claim to the discovery of the Straits between America and Asia, 103
Spangberg, Martin, i. 309, 310
Spanish Main, privateering of Prince Rupert in the, i, 28
Spence, Governor (Albany), i. 337
Spence, John, a factor of the Company, ii. 120, 121
Spencer, Cape, ii. 240
"Stanion, John," pseudonym of James II. as holder of stock in the Company, i. 329
Stannard, Captain (of the *Eagle*), i. 45
Stephens, Captain Joseph, discovers a harbour at Marble Island, ii. 30 *note*
Stewart, John, explanation of, ii. 99, 100
Stickeen River, ii. 238, 244
Stone Fort, ii. 302
Stone Indians, i. 88 *note*
Strange, Lord, presents the Report of the Select Committee (1749), ii. 4, 10
Strathcona and Mount Royal, Lord (*see* Smith, Mr. Donald)
Strike of the Company's seamen, (1768), ii. 35, 37
Strong, William, Prince Rupert's secretary, i. 31, 34, 35
Sturgeon Lake, ii. 63
Superior City, ii. 281
Superior, Lake, i. 9, 12 ; ii. 158
Superstition of the Indians, i. 284, 285
Susan, the, Benjamin Gillam's ship, i. 122, 125
Sutherland, Lord, i. 176
Sylvie, Father, i. 162

TABITI Indians, i. 79, 80
Tadoussac, i. 94, 130
Talon, Jean, i. 7, 50 ; his letter to Colbert, 51, 52 ; his commission to Father Abanel, 70, 73
Taryteheff, Captain, ii. 105
Tast, Admiral, i, 188, 189
Taunton, Lord, ii. 263, 265
Tchirikoff, Alexi, i. 309, 310
Thompson, David, exploration of, ii. 98, 99 and *note*, 305
Thompson River, ii. 305
Three Rivers, settlement at, i. 11, 14, 302
Thwaytes, William, chief opponent of the Earl of Selkirk's project, ii. 145
Tionnontates (or Tobacco) Indians, i. 13
Tod, John, ii. 306
Tomlinson, John, his evidence before the Select Committee (1748-9), ii. 7, 8
Toronto, merchants of, opposition to the Company of, ii. 265, 266

Townsend, John, ii. 72
Trade, effect of the Restoration upon, i. 1, 2
Traders, the Company's, character of, ii. 55, 56; shares held by, 281 and *note*, 282; their claim against the Company, 298, 299
Transit of Venus, witnessed at Prince of Wales' Fort in 1769, ii. 35
Treaties with Indians, i. 155
Treaties with the United States (1783, 1784), ii. 228 *seqq.*
Treaty with America of 1857, ii. 266, 267 and *note*; of Ghent, ii. 227, 235; of neutrality between England and France with regard to the colonies, i. 175; with Russia (1825), ii. 234, 237
Trial of Semple's murderers, ii. 214, 215
Trinkets for bartering, 65
Troyes, Chevalier de, his expedition against the English at the Bay, i. 161 *seqq.*; takes Forts Rupert and Albany, 166–170; treatment of the Company's servants, and his return to Quebec, 171; his tragic end, 181 *note*
Turner, exploration of, ii. 97, 98

Umfreville, Edward, ii. 72, 158
Union of the Hudson's Bay Company and the North-West Company, ii. 217–221
United States, competition of, ii. 227; claims the Red River, 228 *seqq.*; treaties with (1793, 1794), 228, *seqq.*; examination of the claims of, 231 *seqq.*; temporary arrangement with (1827), 236; treaty of 1857, 266, 267; purchases Alaska, 287. (*See also* America, North.)
Utrecht, treaty of, i. 250 *seqq.*; ii. 14

Valiere, Sieur de, i. 55
Vancouver, Captain George, ii. 101
Vancouver Fort, ii. 237, 244, 248, 303
Vancouver Island, ii. 253, 256; secured by the Company (1849) for ten years, 257, 258; becomes a Crown Colony, 258; 265
Vaudreuil, Marquis de (Governor of Canada), i. 253
Vaughan, Captain David, i. 268
Venus, transit of, observations at Hudson's Bay of, ii. 34, 35
Verandrye, Sieur de la, *see* Gaultier
Vermilion, Fort, ii. 208, 236
Victoria Fort, ii. 305
Violent, the, i. 199, 205
Vyner, Sir Robert, i. 47, 62

Wager River, i. 320, 321
Walla Walla Fort, ii. 304
Wampum, manufacture of, i. 65
Wars of the Indians, effect upon the Company of, i. 225, 226
Watkin, Sir Edward, ii. 269, 271, 273 *seqq.*, 280
Weenisk River, i. 238
Weesph, the, i. 199
Wellington, Francis, i. 47
West, Rev. John, appointed chaplain to the Company, ii. 225
Western Company, the, i. 228
Weymouth, Viscount, ii. 36, 37
Whale fishery at Davis' Straits, i. 327; ii. 30

Whale Island, ii. 91
William III., lands at Plymouth, i. 181; mentions the claims of the Company in his declaration of war against France, 183
William, Fort, ii. 159, 160, 166, 177; description of, 195, 196; revels at, 196 197; captured by Lord Selkirk, 199–201; restored to the North-Westers, 204
William and Ann, the, wreck of, ii. 237
Williams, Governor, arrests North-Westers, ii. 209, 223
Winnipeg Lake, meeting of Indians at, i. 292; ii. 209
Wisconsin, State of, Indians of, i. 13
Witnesses examined by the Select Committee (1748–9), i. 4–6
Wolfe, General, i. 10; ii. 16
Wolseley, Lord, ii. 298
Women, Indians' estimate of, ii. 48
X. Y. Company, *see* New North-West Company
Yale Fort, ii. 306
York, Duke of, receives from Charles II. a grant of territory in America, i. 4; his relations with Prince Rupert, 32; at Garraway's, 61; succeeds Prince Rupert in the governorship of the Company, 107. (*See also* James II.)
York, Little, ii. 212, 213, 214
York Factory, i. 123, 124, 140, 143; rebuilding of, 190; 244, 329 (*see also* Nelson Fort); plan of fort at, 331; ii. 20; surrendered to the French, 73–76; 162
Young, Mr. (a member of the Company), i. 134, 137, 140, 149
Yukon Fort, ii. 304

THE END

Printed by Ballantyne, Hanson & Co.
Edinburgh & London